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THE NATIONS AND OTHER POEMS

JESUS THE MAN

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND GENETIC STUDY OF AMERICAN REALISM

OKLAHOMA, A HISTORY

JESUS' JERUSALEM EXPEDITION

Jesus'
Jerusalem
Expedition

JESUS' JERUSALEM EXPEDITION

by

VICTOR E. HARLOW



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Jesus' Jerusalem Expedition

Introduction

The story of Jesus of Nazareth is essentially the chronicle of a Messianic episode. It is a story of events that could not possibly have occurred under circumstances or in environment other than of that time and place, an environment which was dominated and completely saturated with the Messianic hope of his people. The announcement of John the Baptist, repeated by Jesus himself, that "The Kingdom of Heaven is at hand," was a Messianic proclamation. The people who made up his followers and who surrounded him during his closing hours, whose faith persisted and provided the motive power in the formation of the *ἐκκλησία* which followed him, were dominated by the Messianic expectation.¹ He was recognized by his immediate followers as the Messiah,² he permitted them to continue this attitude toward him with his approval, and finally in that critical hour when his life hung in the balance, in the presence of all the authorities of his nation, he confidently proclaimed himself to be the Messiah.³ The charge against him before the Roman procurator was essentially that he claimed to be the Messianic king of the Jews, a charge which the ironic superscription on his cross repeated as the reason for his death. Those who remained his devoted followers, even in the face of his rejection by the authorities of his people and his execution at their behest by the representative of the great Empire against whom the Messianic hope was directed, did so in the conviction that he was the Messiah and that he would return in his own person and perform the Messianic functions.

¹Luke 19:11, 38; Mark 11:9-10; Luke 24:21; Matt. 21:8, 9; Matt. 20:20-23; Luke 18:35-39.

²Matt. 16:13-16; Mark 8:27-29; Luke 9:18-20.

³Matt. 26:63-64; Mark 14:61-62; Matt. 27:11; Mark 15:2-3; Luke 23:3.

Concerning the characteristics of that Jewish Messianic hope of which the brief career of Jesus was the flower, recent investigations have developed an enormous mass of information. It is now definitely known that it was protean in its form, through the centuries varying in many respects with the time and the group and even the individual who held it. Prophet and scribe and Rabbi each made his contribution to the details with which this intense racial desire from time to time clothed itself. But at bottom all these myriad forms had certain essential characteristics out of which the others grew.

Chief among these essential characteristics was the expectation that the Anointed One was to be a man of power, one through whom the strength of the Lord should be revealed. Usually he was thought of as a Man of War, as one who should lead the hosts of Israel and, through the aid of the Most High, overthrow his enemies and restore the Kingdom of Israel to its former proud estate. But whether through military means or otherwise, all expected that he would become the head of the nation, and would be able to replace the hated authority of the over-lords—who from time to time oppressed the Jews in the closing days of their history—with the divine authority that should be exercised through him ⁴

This characteristic was sharply apparent in the numerous outbreaks of Messianic enthusiasm which occurred from Judas the Galilean to Bar Kochba. In every instance except that of Jesus of Nazareth, these Messianic outbreaks centered about a popular leader around whom was organized a greater or smaller body of enthusiasts who looked upon him as in some form the embodiment of the Messianic expectation. In every instance there was an appeal to arms, in every instance the relation be-

⁴See Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, 29:4-5, 8 (Translation Clark's Theological Library, II, ii, p. 166-167, 170-173); Klausner, *Jesus of Nazareth*, p. 200; with sources there assembled.

tween the leader and the followers was military. In Jesus alone, according to the current interpretation, the expected Messianic leader appeared purely as a prophet, as a preacher of ethics and religion, manifesting none of the expected elements of popular leadership, making no attempt to perform the functions which were the most essential characteristics of the popular hope.

However easy it may be for the seeker for purely religious values in the story of Jesus to accept this view, it is certainly not easy for one who searches for a correct historical perspective. It is not necessarily contradictory that one who was solely a prophet should also have thought of himself as being especially anointed of God. But that any considerable number of Jews of that time and place could have imputed Messiahship to any one completely devoid of those characteristics which were the most essential in the very conception is contradictory to an extreme degree.

Neither is it necessary for one who reads the record closely to retain this view. The story as told in the gospels discloses with marked clearness the fact that Jesus did assume, in at least some degree, those characteristics of the Messiah essential in the current expectation. It is reasonably clear that he did assemble a great number of followers, and that his relation to them was recognized to be that of a leadership closely approximating military authority; that he led this multitude to Jerusalem and at their head entered the City in Messianic manner; that in Jerusalem itself he attempted to exercise supreme authority, and was for a day actually in physical control of the Temple from which he had displaced the usual authorities, and that he clearly claimed to be the King of the Jews; and that he was convicted and put to death as an insurrectionist, a false claimant of authority.

These facts stand out clearly in the Gospels themselves. The earliest Christians, including the Twelve, who were personally

associated with Jesus, were Jews, well aware of all these facts, which to them were entirely normal and called for no explanation. The men who produced the synoptic gospels, though two of them were Greeks, had with individuals who had personally participated in these experiences contact sufficiently close that they maintained a correct general outlook upon them, though even to them these purely historical matters had begun to be subordinated in importance to the more ideal values which had been attached to the personality of Jesus. But only a few generations, with their rapidly developed sublimation of the whole episode through the medium of the Pauline and gnostic philosophies, were sufficient to subordinate the historical to the spiritual, to such an extent that the whole episode took on a different appearance. Some of the facts of the record became not only useless, but actually incomprehensible to generations of Christians who were not Jews, who no longer had any community of understanding with the Messianists of the time of Jesus and who found neither inspiration nor spiritual instruction in that story of high attempt and glorious failure.

Out of this misunderstanding, in the period during and following the great persecution of Diocletian, in which the sacred books were destroyed throughout the Empire, when these books were being reproduced under extreme difficulty, grew changes in the text of the New Testament which have perpetuated the defective comprehension of that period. When manuscripts were being produced under the most intense difficulties, with few and scattered exemplars, when dependable norms were lacking, when the memory of the bishops learned in the scriptures was almost as authoritative as the text actually being copied, passages which had been looked upon as insignificant and for that reason were largely overlooked, when placed under the enforced scrutiny of manuscript reproduction revealed their contradictions with the

conception of the story that had come to be classic among the Christians. What was more natural than that the men who were attempting to reproduce these scriptures, would from time to time so revise these difficult and contradictory passages that they would conform with their conceptions?

That this has occurred in numerous places is beyond doubt. The Greek text as revised by Lucian, containing many such revisions, was the dominant text at the time of the beginning of the translation of the Greek scriptures into the modern languages. As a consequence the gospels have fixed themselves in the minds of the Christian world, learned and unlearned alike, with these modified texts imbedded in them. The textual investigations of the past century have uncovered many of these revisions and have, to a great degree, restored the Greek text as it existed prior to this period of revision, but the changes in the current English text growing out of these discoveries have rarely acquired a place in the historical consciousness of even those who study the gospels most closely. As a consequence, the historical outlook upon the life of Jesus which prevailed, not at the time when the gospels were written, but at the time of the Lucianic revision, has continued with us until now.

The succeeding chapters are made up of discussions of several of these modified passages and the effect upon the current conception of the story of Jesus compelled by the revision of the language. In particular they are an exposition of the conviction that in one respect at least, Jesus functioned in Messianic fashion, to-wit: That he did assemble a band of followers not insignificant in number, but large enough to constitute a political phenomenon of the first magnitude, led it down to Jerusalem and took control of the Temple. They are dominated by the conviction that Jesus is to be understood historically, not merely through his teaching, nor by what he suffered at the hands of

others, but also by what he actually did himself; that he was not merely a great teacher, a source of profound religious revelation, but was also himself a man of action, who functioned notably in a troubled and violent time.⁵

⁵Robert Eisler in his *The Messiah Jesus and John the Baptist* has developed an idea basically similar, but quite different in its detailed application. His thesis is that Jesus led a multitude to Jerusalem with intent to take it into the wilderness to await the time when the Kingdom should appear, but that he was brought into conflict with the Roman governor, and thus met disaster.

Jesus' Jerusalem Expedition

I

WHO ACCOMPANIED JESUS TO JERUSALEM?

Students of the life of Jesus are agreed as to the critical importance of the event at Caesarea Philippi usually described as the Confession of Peter. This event marks a point of sharp contrast between the spirit and purpose of the events and teaching before it and those which followed it. Here again students for the most part agree as to the significance of the two periods. According to the view generally accepted, before the Confession the work of Jesus consisted in the evangelization of the multitudes who came to hear him and in the selection of the Twelve, who were to found his church. After that time, his activity was confined to the training of this same Twelve, followed by his practical suicide for the sake of the human race.

Thus, the story from Caesarea Philippi on, throughout the centuries has been dominated by one idea of his intention and method. This idea has been that immediately following the Confession of Peter, Jesus determined to establish a church composed of those who should be saved by his voluntary sacrifice, and that this purpose controlled his actions from then on. With this intent he went to Jerusalem to die and be raised again, and took with him the Twelve in order to train them to carry on his work in the establishment of his church after his death.

From time to time there have been different ideas as to the various phases of this general purpose but there have been few exceptions to the understanding that he took with him only the Twelve, and that they accompanied him for the purpose of train-

ing for their future work.¹ Here and there a commentator in recent years, influenced by some of the manifest necessities of the recovered gospel texts, has recognized the presence of an indistinct group of slightly connected followers, but practically speaking the statement that he was actually accompanied by only the Twelve is universal. This statement has not fully satisfied all the conditions of the historic problem and, consequently, has been accompanied by several other varying auxiliary explanations. In particular, the frequent references to "the multitude"² which occur in the story of this trip as told by all three of the synoptic gospels, has usually been explained by stating that Jesus and the Twelve fell in with crowds of Passover pilgrims going down to Jerusalem and that these Passover crowds constituted the multitude referred to. The crowds who accompanied him on what has generally been called "the triumphal entry" are construed to be these same crowds of pilgrims; though the reasons

¹See, for example, Loisy, *L'Evangile selon Luc*, p. 292, where discussing the mission of the Seventy, he says "il serait par trop inconcevable que Jesus lancot une mission plus considerable que celle des Douze." "It would be quite inconceivable that Jesus sent out a mission more considerable than that of the Twelve." Of the idea of "une petite armée de disciples," he says "ce ne laisse pas d'être invraisemblable." "This is quite unbelievable." Turner, *The Study of the New Testament*, page 62: "the whole story of the ascent to Jerusalem and the arrival there seems to imply that it was only the few disciples whom he was educating in closest intimacy who now made up his company." So most authors who have commented upon it. Keim (*Jesus of Nazara*, Ransom's Translation, V, pp. 2, 3) like Loisy, thinks the Seventy and the one hundred and twenty who formed the first Christian Community (Acts 1:15) mythical, but does find a small number of men and women essential in the narrative. Eusebius, I, xii, does not question the Seventy, but apparently considers that number adequate to account for all the others mentioned.

²Wrede, (*Das Messiasgeheimnis*, 138, 139) finds the ὄχλος so troublesome that he prefers to consider it merely a mannerism of Mark: "Von der Menge gilt bei Markus nur ganz dasselbe wie von Hause und ähnlichen Vorstellungen: er hat sie jederzeit zur Hand, wo er sie braucht. Und sie ist stet nicht weit, sobald er an die Jünger denkt." "Of the multitude in Mark holds true only quite the same as of 'house' and similar notions: he has it always ready at hand, where he needs it. And it is always not far away, so soon as he thinks of the disciples." Exegesis is easy if we are to solve our difficulties by the elimination of any factor which becomes troublesome.

why such unattached crowds of unbelievers joined in the Messianic procession with which he entered the city have never been made entirely satisfactory. Similarly the seventy messengers mentioned by Luke³ are not compatible with the idea that only the Twelve were accompanying Jesus, for it is impossible to withdraw seventy from twelve; consequently those puzzled by this contradictory situation have attempted to explain the second sending of messengers as an erroneous "double" of the first sending of the Twelve during the earlier stages of the ministry in Galilee.⁴ The impossibility of explaining the Cleansing of the Temple upon any natural basis, if it is supposed that Jesus and the Twelve constituted the only available force for that purpose, has led to various explanations as to how this feat was accomplished, but all of them are miraculous in some respect, as only a miracle could account for the immediate submission of the great mass of unbelieving business men and temple officers to the orders of a lone individual, supported only by twelve unarmed Galilean peasants. The statement that Jesus, during the remainder of that day following the expulsion of the merchants and bankers, would not permit anyone so much as to carry a vessel through the Temple,⁵ although the priests and Temple officers were all unbelievers and antagonistic to him, remains inexplicable if Jesus and the Twelve were the only force supporting such a command. Only the miraculous intervention of divine power could possibly have made effective the policing of the vast

³Luke x, 1. This corresponds with the number of the Sanhedrin, seventy members and the presiding officer. Schürer, *The Jewish People in the Time of Christ*, II, 1, 175, 176. *Babylonian Talmud*, Sanhedrin I, Mishna I: "Whence do we deduce that the Great Council must be of seventy-one? From Num. xi, 16: 'Gather unto me seventy men.' And add Moses, who was the head of them—hence seventy-one." It is not improbable that Jesus was beginning the organization of the new Sanhedrin for the coming Kingdom, just as he was planning the new judges for the restored twelve tribes (Matt. 19:27-28)

⁴E. g. Loisy *L'Evangile selon Luc*, p. 292, commenting on Luke x, 1.

⁵Mark 11:16.

Temple area, to any such extent, by one man with only twelve followers.⁶ And the presence of the women, who, we are told in Luke 23:55, Matthew 20:20, had accompanied him from Galilee, is overlooked, as well as Cleopas and that other one mentioned by Luke in 24:13-35, and that number who had accompanied him from the beginning, from whom were selected Joseph and Matthias as recorded in Acts 1:21-23.

Also, with the modern discoveries of various ancient manuscripts and their consequent effect upon the text of the New Testament, further discrepancies have appeared which were not apparent so long as the story was read in the King James version, or in the Textus Receptus upon which it was based. A conception which was already full of contradiction, since the appearance of the critical Greek texts of Tischendorf and Westcott and Hort and the Revised Version of the English Bible, especially the American Revised Version of the New Testament, has become absolutely untenable by one who reads the story carefully with the assumption that it contains a reasonably accurate record of an actual historical incident, and with the further assumption that a miracle must be assumed at no point where a rational explanation is available.

This requires a restatement and a new solution of the problem of the purpose of Jesus in going from Caesarea Philippi to Jerusalem and of the events of that trip. A book published in 1924 by the author of this series of essays⁷ contains an attempt at such a re-statement. Briefly it may be summarized as follows:

Jesus' conviction of his messiahship, originated at his baptism at the fords of the Jordan and, carried through his Galilean

⁶Cf. to the same effect Bacon, *The Story of Jesus*, p. 232: "A revolutionary defiance of the Sanhedrin such as this could not have been carried out without the support of a great multitude of Galilean adherents of the prophet." And Burkitt, *Jesus Christ*, p. 45: "The Cleansing of the Temple surely implies an enthusiastic body of adherents."

⁷Harlow, Victor E., *Jesus the Man*.

ministry, but somewhat disturbed by his compulsory flight from Galilee to avoid arrest by Herod, was confirmed anew by the recognition of that messiahship by Peter and the undoubted adherence of the remainder of the Twelve to that announcement. With this confirmed conviction, he determined openly to assume the responsibility attached to it, to abandon his wanderings in foreign lands and to return to the capital of Judaism, the only place where his messiahship could be fulfilled according to the prophecies, there to give his nation an opportunity to recognize him as the Anointed One of God and, consequently, as the nation's head. He recognized the hazard involved in presenting this assumption in a city where a national government almost certain to be hostile to such an attempt was already in operation, and foresaw the probability of personal disaster and a fulfillment of the prophecies concerning the suffering Messiah, but he felt assured that in such event he would be able to fulfill the prophecies of the resurrection and would return upon the clouds of Heaven, as was required by the current conception of the Messianic coming. In addition there were numerous prophecies concerning the circumstances surrounding the coming of the Messiah which must necessarily be fulfilled before the old age could end and the new age be ushered in, and which could be fulfilled only at Jerusalem. These he must fulfill in order that the will of God be done and the Kingdom of God appear upon the earth, and for this reason he must at any cost to himself go to Jerusalem.

There were features of this conception which could not be fulfilled by him alone, but which required the co-operation and presence of numbers of believers. His purpose could be realized only in his recognition as the head of the nation, which required that he be accepted by great numbers of followers. Consequently, his first move in this direction was to invite all those who would, to abandon their affairs, to cease their reliance upon the

world status that was about to pass away, and to accompany him to Jerusalem, there to see the new age come in and to participate in it. To only the Twelve did he reveal the conviction of his own Messiahship, but the invitation was extended to all his hearers. The growing expedition passed secretly through Galilee and on down the valley of the Jordan, gathering adherents as it went. Thirty-five³ pairs of messengers were sent out beforehand, giving out the message that he was coming, announcing the approaching Kingdom and his purpose; followers came to him and by the time he had reached Jericho they had become an immense crowd of many thousands of people. Any attempt to shake the determination of Jesus, either by his own now deeply fearful associates, or by those Pharisees who desired to prevent its fulfillment, was of no avail, and despite the developing fears and apprehensions of his followers, Jesus led his multitude up the mountainous road to Bethany. There he organized an entry into Jerusalem, which was planned to be a fulfillment of the messianic prophecy; and he entered the city at the head of a crowd filled with enthusiasm over the approaching fulfillment of their hopes, in numbers so great that, though unarmed, it aroused the apprehensions of Jerusalem, accustomed even as that city was to great crowds at Passover times.

Supported by this multitude of followers, which was practically unorganized but was attached to him personally and operating under his direction, he was able the next day to compel the persons engaged in business within the Temple enclosure to remove their property and abandon the Temple, and at the same time he was able to overawe the temple authorities and to take complete physical possession of the Temple; thus he assumed the position of the head of the nation, in accordance with his belief in his own destiny as the Messiah. But when he returned to the Temple the next day he was confronted by the national authori-

ties reorganized to such an extent as to prevent the repetition of his physical control of the Temple, and demanding his authority for such superb actions. Though no longer able to maintain the position he had taken on the previous day, supported by his multitude he was still able to avoid the open desire of the Jewish government for his arrest, and to leave the Temple in safety after having delivered to the authorities who had resisted him a rebuke and a terrific exhortation, which aroused in them the greatest anger and the firmest determination to destroy him.

His failure to repeat his triumph and the now evident impossibility of securing the adherence of the entire nation, as he and they had expected, probably emphasized by his failure to repudiate the Roman tribute when confronted with an inquiry regarding it, caused his followers to disorganize and scatter, and after two days of retirement, which was practical concealment, he was betrayed by one of his own disappointed followers and arrested by agents of the Jewish authorities. At an informal hearing held at night in the home of the high priest, he was provoked into a statement which constituted blasphemy under the Jewish law, and at a meeting of the Sanhedrin early the next morning he was adjudged guilty of death under the same law. But since under the Roman government the Jewish government had no authority to enforce a sentence of death, and since under the Roman law the offense of which he had been convicted by the Sanhedrin was not a crime, in order to secure his execution the national leaders were sent to present him to the Roman government and to make complaint that he was a disturber of the peace and claimant of a power which was treasonable towards the Romans. He was acquitted of these charges by Pilate, but that governor, nevertheless, when he learned that Jesus was a Galilean, and that the offense with which he was charged had been committed partially or entirely within Galilee, sent him to

Herod Antipas, the ruler of Galilee. Herod found him guilty and returned him to Pilate as a person worthy of extreme punishment; Herod did not inflict this punishment probably because Herod himself was outside of his jurisdiction and the right to inflict punishment in Jerusalem belonged only to the Roman government. Pilate, though influenced by the finding of Herod, was still convinced of the practical innocence of Jesus, and sought to release him, with a minor punishment as a concession to Herod's judgment; but meeting the antagonism of the entire Jerusalem population, both the rulers and the rabble, he permitted the enforcement of the sentence of Jesus' own ruler, and the Galilean was crucified as a disturber of the peace from Galilee unto Jerusalem and one claiming to be King of the Jews.

The book in which this conception was set out was written for popular perusal and does little more than mention a few of the special problems involved in a change of outlook so revolutionary. The implications of this idea, however, are of vast importance in the study of the life of Jesus. Since students interested in those implications, once their attention is engaged by this idea, will scarcely be ready to abandon the old for the new unless such abandonment is intellectually compulsory, the succeeding chapters of this book are given to some critical and historical considerations which, in the judgment of the writer, render it intellectually impossible to hold the classic view, and necessary to adhere to an explanation basically of the type set out above.

II

THE STORY IN THE GOSPELS

While interest in the story of Jesus ever since the foundation of the church has been very great, with the exception of the record of the crucifixion and the resurrection throughout the centuries the actual historical side of it has been given a place secondary to his teachings. When once his followers had been convinced of the reality of his resurrection and of the consequent finality of the demonstration that he was Messiah and Savior, (which was demonstrated to them primarily by the resurrection) the practical instinct led believers to look into their records of his acts and sayings for his own words as a source of the correct way of life and as a forecast of the future, rather than for a record of the material incidents of his life. To people who believed, as all early Christians did, that Jesus' return and the change of the age were events of the immediate future, the only rational interest was in a proper preparation for that event, and history for its own sake was of no importance whatever to them. As a consequence, the historical references, the narrative material of the gospels, was imbedded in scattered fashion among a much larger amount of didactic material, and attracted very slight attention compared with those other sections which looked primarily to the future.

This condition makes it desirable at the beginning of this examination to assemble those historical sections of the gospels upon which this story of his movement upon Jerusalem is based. Such assembly, which eliminates from the record of that section of his history merely those parts which have chiefly didactic value, gives effect by juxtaposition to those passages which in their scattered situation have been overlooked and are readily passed over as not significant.

If it be objected that this method of assembling material could lend itself to great abuse, the objection will readily be admitted. It must be borne in mind, however, that in this instance the omitted sections are not at all contradictory of the story here suggested, and that this arrangement is merely an assemblage of passages, the significance of which is usually overlooked in the discussion of the question. The order of their assembly is, with slight exception, that of the gospels themselves, taking Mark as the basis. There is no insertion of new material. They are merely passages which, assembled in this manner, with the concealing didactic passages removed, violate none of the requirements of the record and make an historical, intelligible story with the need for the miraculous eliminated. Succeeding chapters will discuss some of the important passages contained in it.

The passages are quoted from the American Revised Version, with an occasional slight change which seems to conform more precisely to the Greek. The revisers held the classic view of the meaning of the trip, and their translation naturally and unconsciously was colored in many places by their basic ideas.

Matthew 16:13-20—Now when Jesus came into the parts of Caesarea Philippi, he asked his disciples, saying, "Who do men say that the Son of Man is?" And they said, "Some say John the Baptist; some Elijah; and others Jeremiah, or one of the prophets." He saith unto them, "But who say ye that I am?" And Simon Peter answered and said, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." And Jesus answered and saith unto him, "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jonah: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father who is in heaven. And I also say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it. I will give unto thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." Then charged he the disciples that they should tell no man that he was the Christ.

Matthew 16:21—From that time began Jesus to show unto his disciples how he must go unto Jerusalem and suffer many things of the elders and chief priests and scribes and be killed, and the third day be raised up.

Mark 8:32-9:1—And Peter took him, and began to rebuke him. But he turning about and seeing his disciples, rebuked Peter and saith "Get thee

behind me, Satan: for thou mindest¹ not the things of God, but the things of men." And he called unto him the multitude with his disciples, and said unto them all (Luke 9:23) "If any man would come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me. For whosoever shall seek to save his life shall lose it: but whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel's shall save it. For what doth it profit a man to gain the whole world, and forfeit his life? For what should a man give in exchange for his life?" For whosoever shall be ashamed³ of me and my words in this adulterous and sinful generation, the Son of man also shall be ashamed of him when he cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy angels." And he said unto them "Verily I say unto you, there be some here of them that stand by, who shall in no wise taste of death till they see the kingdom of God come with power."

Mark 9:30—And they went forth from thence, and passed through Galilee; and he would not that any man should know it.

Matthew 17:22-23—And while they were gathering themselves together in Galilee, Jesus said to them, "The Son of man shall be delivered up into the hands of men; and they shall kill him, and the third day he shall be raised up.

Mark 9:32-33—But they understood not the saying, and they were afraid to ask him. And they came to Capernaum.

Luke 9:51-56—And it came to pass, when the days were well-nigh come that he should be received up, he steadfastly set his face to go to Jerusalem, and sent messengers before his face; and they went and entered into a village of the Samaritans, to make ready for him. And they did not receive him, because his face was as though he was going to Jerusalem. And when his disciples James and John saw this, they said, "Lord wilt thou that we bid fire to come down from heaven and consume them?" But he turned and rebuked them; and they went to another village.

Luke 10:1—Now after these things the Lord appointed seventy others and sent them two and two before his face into every city and place whither he himself was about to come.

Luke 9:57-59—And as they went in the way, a certain man said unto him, "I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest." And Jesus said unto him, "The foxes have holes, and the birds of the heaven have nests; but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head." And he said to another, "Follow me." But he said, "Lord, suffer me first to go and bury my Father." But he said unto him

Matthew 8:22—"Follow me, and leave the dead to bury their own dead."

Luke 9:61, 62—And another also said, "I will follow thee, Lord; but

¹ Φρονεῖς, Thou hast in thy mind, thou art thinking about.

² Αντάλλαγμα τῆς ψυχῆς, as an equal value of his life.—Wellhausen, *Das Evangelium Marci*: "Was kann der mensch als äquivalent für seine seele bekommen!"

³ Ἐπαισχυνθῆ με, withhold himself from me on account of shame, similarly, the Son of Man shall in shame withhold himself from him.

first suffer me to bid farewell to them that are at my house." But Jesus said unto him, "No man, having put his hand to the plough and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God."

Matthew 19:1-2—And it came to pass, when Jesus had finished these words (the discourse of *Matthew* 18) he departed from Galilee and came into the borders of Judea beyond Jordan; and great multitudes followed him.

Luke 12:1—In the meantime, when the many thousands of the multitude were gathered together, insomuch that they trod upon one another, he began to say to his disciples first of all "Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees."

Luke 12:4-5—"And I say unto you, my friends, be not afraid of them which kill the body, and have no more that they can do. But I warn you whom ye shall fear: fear him which after he hath killed hath power to cast into hell; yea, I say unto you, fear him."

Luke 12:32—"Fear not, little flock, for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom.

Luke 12:49-52—"I came to cast fire upon the earth; and what will I, if it is already kindled? But I have a baptism to be baptised with; and how am I straightened till it be accomplished. Think ye that I am come to give peace in the earth? I tell you nay; but rather division.

Luke 13:22-34—And he went on his way through cities and villages, teaching and journeying on to Jerusalem. And one said unto him, "Lord, are they few that are saved?" And he said unto them, "Strive to enter in by the narrow door: for many, I say unto you, shall seek to enter in, and shall not be able. When once the master of the house is risen up, and hath shut to the door, and ye begin to stand without, and to knock at the door, saying, 'Lord, open to us'; and he shall answer and say to you, 'I know you not whence ye are'; then shall ye begin to say, 'We did eat and drink in thy presence, and thou didst teach in our streets'; and he shall say, 'I tell you, I know not whence ye are; depart from me, all ye workers of iniquity.' There shall be the weeping and the gnashing of teeth, when ye shall see Abraham, and Isaac, Jacob, and all the prophets, in the kingdom of God, and yourselves cast forth without. And they shall come from the east and the west, and from the north and south, and shall sit down in the kingdom of God. And behold, there are last who shall be first, and there are first who shall be last." In that very hour came certain Pharisees, saying to him, "Get thee out, and go hence; for Herod would fain kill thee." And he said unto them, "Go and say to that fox, 'Behold, I cast out demons and perform cures today and tomorrow, and the day following: for it can not be that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem.'"

Luke 14:25-33—Now there went with him great multitudes: and he turned, and said unto them, "If any man cometh unto me, and hateth not his own father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple. Whosoever does not bear his own cross, and come after me, cannot be my disciple. For which of you, desiring to build a tower, doth not sit down and count the cost, whether he have wherewith to complete it? Lest haply, when he hath laid a foundation, and is not able to finish, all that behold begin to mock him, saying, 'This man began

to build and was not able to finish. Or what king, as he goeth to encounter another king in war, will not sit down first and take counsel whether he is able with ten thousand to meet him that cometh against him with twenty thousand? Or else, while the other is yet a great way off, he sendeth an ambassage, and asketh conditions of peace. So therefore whosoever he be of you that renounceth not all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple."

Mark 10:17-25—And as he was going forth into the way, there ran one to him and kneeled to him, and asked him, "Good Master, what shall I do that I may inherit eternal life?" And Jesus said unto him, "Why callest thou me good? none is good save one, even God. Thou knowest the commandments, Do not kill, Do not commit adultery, Do not steal, Do not bear false witness, Do not defraud, Honor thy father and mother." And he said unto him, "Teacher, all these things have I observed from my youth." And Jesus looking upon him loved him, and said unto him, "One thing thou lackest: go, sell whatsoever thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come, follow me." But his countenance fell at the saying, and he went away sorrowful: for he was one that had great possessions. And Jesus looked round about, and saith unto his disciples, "How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God." And the disciples were amazed at his words. But Jesus answereth again, and saith unto them, "Children, how hard is it for them that trust in riches to enter into the kingdom of God! It is easier for a camel to go through a needle's eye, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God."

Matthew 19:25-29—And when the disciples heard it, they were astonished exceedingly, saying, "Who then can be saved?" and Jesus looking upon them said to them, "With men this is impossible; but with God all things are possible." Then answered Peter, and said unto him, "Lo, we have left all, and followed thee: what then shall we have?" And Jesus said unto them "Verily, I say unto you, that ye who have followed me, in the regeneration when the Son of man shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel. And every one that hath left houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive a hundredfold, and shall inherit eternal life."

Mark 10:32-44—And they were on the way going up to Jerusalem; and Jesus was going before them: and they were amazed; and they that followed were afraid. And he took again the Twelve⁴ and began to tell them the things that were to happen unto him, saying, "Behold, we go up to Jerusalem; and the Son of man shall be delivered unto the chief priests and the scribes; and they shall condemn him to death and shall deliver him unto the Gentiles; and they shall mock him and shall spit upon him, and shall scourge him, and shall kill him; and after three days he shall rise again." And there came near unto him James and John, the sons of Zebedee, saying unto him, "Teacher, we would that thou shouldst do for us whatsoever we shall ask of thee," and he

⁴Matt. 20:17, "he took the Twelve apart." Apart from whom? Obviously, from the others in the company, whose close presence prevented privacy.

said unto them, "What would ye that I should do for you?" And they said unto him, "Grant unto us that we may sit, one on thy right hand and one on thy left hand, in thy glory." But Jesus said unto them, "Ye know not what ye ask. Are you able to drink the cup that I drink? or to be baptised with the baptism that I am baptised with?" And they said unto him, "We are able." And Jesus said unto them, "The cup that I drink ye shall drink; and with the baptism that I am baptised withal shall ye be baptised; but to sit on my right hand or on my left hand is not mine to give; but it is for them for whom it hath been prepared." And when the ten heard it, they began to be moved with indignation concerning James and John. And Jesus called them to him, and said unto them, "Ye know that they who are accounted to rule over the Gentiles lord it over them; and their great ones exercise authority over them. But it is not so among you; but whosoever would become great among you, shall be your minister; and whosoever would be first among you, shall be servant of all."

Luke 19:1-9—And he entered and was passing through Jericho. And behold, a man called by name Zacchaeus; and he was a chief publican, and he was rich. And he sought to see Jesus who he was; and could not for the crowd, because he was little by stature. And he ran on before, and climbed up into a sycamore tree to see him; for he was to pass that way. And when Jesus came to the place, he looked up, and said unto him, "Zacchaeus, make haste, and come down; for today I must abide at thy house." And he made haste, and came down, and received him joyfully. And when they saw it, they all murmured, saying, "He is gone to lodge with a man that is a sinner." And Zacchaeus stood, and said unto the Lord, "Behold, Lord, the half of my goods I give to the poor; and if I have wrongfully exacted aught of any man, I restore fourfold." And Jesus said unto him, "Today is salvation come to this house, for as much as he also is a son of Abraham."

Luke 19:11-28—And as they heard these things, he added and spake a parable, because he was nigh to Jerusalem, and they supposed that the kingdom of God was immediately to appear. He said therefore, "A certain nobleman went into a far country, to receive for himself a kingdom, and to return. And he called ten servants of his, and gave them ten pounds and said unto them, 'Trade ye herewith till I come.' But his citizens hated him, and sent an ambassage after him saying, 'We will not that this man reign over us.' And it came to pass, when he was come back again, having received the kingdom, that he commanded these servants, unto whom he had given the money, to be called to him, that he might know what they had gained by trading. And the first came before him, saying, 'Lord, thy pound has made ten pounds more.' And he said unto him, 'Well done, thou good servant; because thou wast found faithful in a very little, have thou authority over ten cities.' And the second came, saying, 'Thy pound, Lord, hath made five pounds.' And he said unto him also, 'Be thou also over five cities.' And another came, saying, 'Lord, behold, here is thy pound, which I kept laid up in a napkin; for I feared thee, because thou art an austere man; thou takest up that which thou layedest not down, and reapest that which thou didst not sow.' He saith unto him, 'Out of thine own mouth will I judge thee, thou wicked servant. Thou knewest

that I am an austere man, taking up that which I laid not down, and reaping that which I did not sow; then wherefore gavest thou not my money into the bank, and I at my coming should have required it with interest?' And he said unto them that stood by, 'Take away from him the pound, and give it unto him that hath the ten pounds.' And they said unto him, 'Lord, he hath ten pounds.' I say unto you, that unto every one that hath shall be given; but from him that hath not, even that which he hath shall be taken away from him. But these mine enemies, that would not that I should reign over them, bring hither, and slay* them before me." And when he had thus spoken, he went on before, going up to Jerusalem.

Mark 11:1-10—And when they draw nigh unto Jerusalem unto Bethphage and Bethany, at the mount of Olives, he sendeth two of his disciples and saith unto them, "Go your way into the village that is over against you; and straightway as ye enter into it, ye shall find a colt tied, whereon no man ever yet sat; loose him, and bring him. And if any one say unto you, 'Why do you this?' say ye, 'The Lord hath need of him,' and straightway he will send him back thither." And they went away, and found a colt tied at the door without in the open street; and they loose him. And certain of them that stood there said unto them, "What do you, loosing the colt?" And they said unto them even as Jesus had said; and they let them go. And they bring the colt unto Jesus, and cast on him their garments; and he sat upon him. And many spread their garments upon the way; and others branches, which they had cut from the fields. And they that went before and they that followed† cried, "Hosanna; Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord; Blessed is the kingdom that cometh, the kingdom of our Father David; Hosanna in the highest."

Mark 11:11—And he entered into Jerusalem, into the temple, and when he had looked round about upon all things, it being now eventide, he went out unto Bethany with the Twelve.

Mark 11:12—And on the morrow—they were come out from Bethany—15-16. And they came to Jerusalem; and he entered into the temple, and began to cast out them that sold and them that bought in the temple, and overthrew the tables of the money changers, and the seats of them that sold the doves; and he would not suffer that any man should carry a vessel through the temple.

Matthew 21:14-17—And the blind and the lame came to him in the temple; and he healed them. But when the chief priests and the scribes saw the wonderful things that he did, and the children that were crying in the temple and saying, "Hosanna to the son of David"; they were moved with indignation, and said unto him, "Hearest thou what these are saying?" And Jesus said unto them, "Yea: did ye never read, Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise?"

Mark 11:17-18—And he taught, and said unto them, "Is it not written, My house shall be called a house of prayer for all the nations?"

*Slaughter, kill off.

†Luke 19:37: The whole multitude of the disciples.

But ye have made it a den of robbers." And the chief priests and the scribes heard it and sought how they might destroy him.

Luke 19-48—And they could not find what they might do; for the people all hung upon him, listening.

Mark 11:19—And whenever evening came, he went forth out of the city. 27. And they come again to Jerusalem; and as he was walking in the temple, there come to him the chief priests and the scribes and the Elders; and they said unto him, "By what authority doest thou these things? Or who gave thee authority to do these things?"

Mark 11:29-33—And Jesus said unto them, "I will ask of you one question, and answer me, and I will tell you by what authority I do these things. The baptism of John, was it from heaven, or from men? answer me." And they reasoned with themselves, saying, "If we shall say from Heaven; he will say, Why then did ye not believe him? But should we say, From men—" they feared the people: for all verily held John to be a prophet. And they answered Jesus and say, "We know not." And Jesus saith unto them, "Neither tell I you by what authority I do these things."

Matthew 21:28-22:22—"But what think ye? A man had two sons; and he came to the first and said, 'Son, go work today in the vineyard.' And he answered and said, 'I will not:' but afterward he repented himself, and went. And he came to the second, and said likewise. And he answered and said, 'I go sir:' and went not. Which of the two did the will of his father?" They say, "The first." Jesus saith unto them, "Verily I say unto you, that the publicans and the harlots go into the kingdom of God before you. For John came unto you in the way of righteousness, and ye believed him not; but the publicans and the harlots believed him; and ye, when ye saw it, did not even repent yourselves afterward that ye might believe him.

"Hear another parable: There was a man that was a householder, who planted a vineyard, and set a hedge about it, and digged a wine-press in it, and built a tower, and let it out to husbandmen, and went into another country. And when the season of the fruits drew near, he sent his servants to the husbandmen, to receive his fruits. And the husbandmen took his servants, and beat one, and killed another, and stoned another. Again he sent other servants more than the first; and they did unto them in like manner. But afterward he sent unto them his son, saying, "They will reverence my son." But the husbandmen, when they saw the son, said among themselves, This is the heir, come, let us kill him, and take his inheritance. And they took him, and cast him forth out of the vineyard, and killed him. When therefore the lord of the vineyard shall come, what will he do unto those husbandmen?" They say unto him, "He will miserably destroy those miserable men, and will let out the vineyard unto other husbandmen, who shall render him the fruits in their seasons." Jesus saith unto them, "Did ye never read in the scriptures, 'The stone which the builders rejected, The same was made the head of the corner; This was from the Lord, And it is marvellous in our eyes?' Therefore say I unto you, The kingdom of God shall be taken away from you, and shall be given to a nation bringing forth the fruits

thereof. And he that falleth on this stone shall be broken in pieces; but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will scatter him as dust."

And when the chief priests and the Pharisees heard his parables, they perceived that he spake of them. And when they sought to lay hold of him, they feared the multitudes, because they took him for a prophet.

And Jesus answered and spake again in parables unto them, saying, "The kingdom of heaven is likened unto a certain king, who made a marriage feast for his son, and sent forth his servants to call them that were bidden to the marriage feast: and they would not come. Again he sent forth other servants, saying, 'Tell them that are bidden, Behold, I have made ready my dinner; my oxen and my fatlings are killed, and all things are ready: come to the marriage feast.' But they made light of it, and went their ways, one to his own farm, another to his merchandise; and the rest laid hold on his servants, and treated them shamefully, and killed them. But the king was wroth; and he sent his armies, and destroyed those murderers, and burned their city. Then saith he to his servants, 'The wedding is ready, but they that were bidden were not worthy. Go ye therefore unto the partings of the highways, and as many as ye shall find, bid to the marriage feast.' And those servants went out into the highways, and gathered together all as many as they found, both bad and good: and the wedding was filled with guests. But when the king came in to behold the guests, he saw there a man who had not on a wedding-garment: and he saith unto him, 'Friend, how camest thou in hither not having a wedding-garment?' And he was speechless. Then the king said to the servants, 'Bind him hand and foot, and cast him out into the outer darkness; there shall be the weeping and the gnashing of teeth.' For many are called, but few chosen."

Then went the Pharisees, and took counsel how they might ensnare him in his talk. And they send to him their disciples, with the Herodians, saying, "Teacher, we know that thou art true, and teachest the way of God in truth, and carest not for any one: for thou regardest not the persons of men. Tell us therefore, What thinkest thou? Is it lawful to give tribute unto Caesar, or not?" But Jesus perceived their wickedness, and said "Why make ye trial of me, ye hypocrites? Show me the tribute money." And they brought unto him a denarius. And he saith unto them, "Whose is the image and superscription?" They say unto him, "Caesar's." Then saith he unto them, "Render therefore unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's." And when they heard it, they marvelled, and left him, and went away.

Luke 20:26—And they were not able to take hold of the saying before the people: and they marvelled at his answer and held their peace.

Mark 12:28-37—And one of the scribes came, and heard them questioning together, and knowing that he had answered them well, asked him, "What commandment is the first of all?" Jesus answered "The first is, Hear, O Israel; the Lord our God, the Lord is one: and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength. The second is this: 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. There is none other commandment greater than these.' And

the scribe said unto him, "Of a truth, Teacher, thou hast well said that he is one; and there is none other but he: and to love him with all the heart, and with all the understanding, and with all the strength, and to love his neighbor as himself, is much more than all whole burnt offerings and sacrifices." And when Jesus saw that he answered discreetly, he said unto him, "Thou are not far from the kingdom of God." And no man after that durst ask him any question.

And Jesus answered and said, as he taught in the Temple, "How say the scribes that the Christ is the son of David? David himself said in the Holy Spirit, 'The Lord said unto my Lord, sit thou on my right hand, Till I make thine enemies the footstool of thy feet.' David himself calleth him Lord; and whence is he his Son?" And the common people heard him gladly.

Matt. 23:1-7—Then Jesus spake to the multitudes and to his disciples, saying, "The scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat; all things therefore whatsoever they bid you, these do and observe: but do not ye after their works; for they say and do not. Yea, they bind heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders; but they themselves will not move them with their finger. But all their works they do to be seen of men; for they make broad their phylacteries, and enlarge the borders of their garments and love the chief place at feasts and the chief seats in the synagogues."

13-36—"But woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! because ye shut the kingdom of heaven against men; for ye enter not in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to enter. Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte; and when he is become so, ye make him twofold more a son of hell than yourselves. Woe unto you ye blind guides, that say, 'Whosoever shall swear by the temple, it is nothing; but whoever shall swear by the gold of the temple, he is a debtor.' Ye fools and blind: for which is greater, the gold or the temple that hath sanctified the gold? And, 'Whosoever shall swear by the altar, it is nothing; but whosoever shall swear by the gift that is upon it, he is a debtor.' Ye blind: for which is greater, the gift or the altar that sanctified the gift? He therefore that sweareth by the altar, sweareth by it, and by all things thereon. And he that sweareth by the temple, sweareth by it, and by him that dwelleth therein. And he that sweareth by the heaven, sweareth by the throne of God, and by him that sitteth thereon. Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye tithe mint and anise and cummin, and have left undone the weightier matters of the law, justice and mercy and faith; but these ye ought to have done, and not to have left the other undone. Ye blind guides, that strain out the gnat, and swallow the camel! Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye cleanse the outside of the cup and of the platter, but within they are full from extortion and excess. Thou blind Pharisee, cleanse first the inside of the cup and of the platter, that the outside thereof may become clean also. Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are like unto the whited sepulchres, which outwardly appear beautiful, but inwardly are full of dead men's bones,

and of all uncleanness. Even so ye also outwardly appear righteous unto men but inwardly ye are full of hypocrisy and iniquity. Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye build the sepulchres of the prophets, and garnish the tombs of the righteous, and say, If we had been in the days of our fathers, we should not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets. Wherefore ye witness to yourselves, that ye are sons of them that slew the prophets. Fill ye up then the measure of your fathers. Ye serpents, ye offspring of vipers, how shall ye escape the judgment of hell?"

Luke 19:41-44—And when he drew nigh, he saw the city and wept over it, saying, "If thou hadst known in this day, even thou, the things which belong unto peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes. For the days shall come unto thee, when thine enemies shall cast up a bank about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side, and shall dash thee to the ground, and thy children within thee; and they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another; because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation.

Matthew 23:37-39—"O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, that killeth the prophets, and stoneth them that are sent unto her! how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not! Behold, your house is left unto you desolate. For I say unto you, Ye shall not see me henceforth, till ye shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord."

The multitude of his followers disappears at this point, not to reappear during his lifetime.

III

Ὁπίσω μου

The great crisis in the career of Jesus was that hour at Caesarea Philippi, when he sought and found in the statement of Simon Peter confirmation of his conviction that he was the Messiah. Not until then, so far as the record tells us, had he definitely contemplated going into Jerusalem. All his message up to that point assumed that the Kingdom was about to come, through the operation of the divine plans alone and without participation or interference by the interposition of any special activities upon his own part. Until then he was the annunciator of the coming Kingdom, the preacher to his own people, warning them what they should do to be saved, teaching the way of life which would lead to safety, asking only for repentance and a purified heart and a righteousness which should exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees as a preparation for the Kingdom when it should arrive. But its actual coming, so far as his preaching reveals, was in no way dependent upon anything that he must do. His attitude was purely eschatological, to use the modern term.

Immediately after the recognition of his Messiahship by Simon a great change appeared. He began to announce that certain things were necessary for him to do; that he must go into Jerusalem and that there he should suffer certain things at the hands of the authorities. An attempt upon the part of Simon to deny this necessity brought a biting rebuke, and a demand that Simon "line up." And immediately afterwards we find Jesus making a general public invitation to follow him, to participate in the new enterprise upon which he was about to embark.

This invitation, one of the most striking, and perhaps one

of the most generally misunderstood of his pronouncements,¹ is given by Mark, as translated in the Revised Version, as follows (8:34-9:1).

"If any man would come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me. For whosoever would save his life shall lose it; and whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel's shall save it. For what doth it profit a man, to gain the whole world, and forfeit his life? For what should a man give in exchange for his life? For whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words in this adulterous and sinful generation, the Son of man also shall be ashamed of him, when he cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy angels."

It should be observed that this invitation is extended not only to the Twelve. Matthew's language would possibly so have limited it, saying, (16:24)

"Then said Jesus unto his disciples."

Mark, however, (8:34) says that

"He called unto him the multitude with his disciples and said unto them"

while Luke (9:23) puts it,

"And he said unto all."

Evidently immediately following the colloquy with Peter he made a public appeal in one of the villages near Caesarea Philippi, in which the language above quoted was addressed not only to the Twelve, but to all who were present.² The hearers included the Twelve, and a large number of other people.

The Greek of the first verse of this passage is as follows:

εἰ τις θέλει ὀπίσω μου ἐλθεῖν, ἀπαρνησάσθω ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἀράτω τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκολουθείτω μοι.

¹Wrede finds the situation and the language so contradictory that he calls the whole incident a fiction. (*Das Messiasgeheimnis*, 138-139).

²Easton, *The Gospel according to St. Luke*, p. 140, refuses to admit the multitude, ignoring Mark, saying "'All' is very vague, for all the disciples were addressed in v. 22, and no one else was present." He gives no reason for the dogmatic certainty of his last clause.

This was translated in the authorized version, in practically the same language as given above which is

"Whosoever will come after me let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me."

Wyckliffe is very similar :

"If ony man wole come aftir me alon denye he himself and take his cross and sue he me."

Tyndale however uses a slightly different form which is important. He puts it :

"Whosoever will follow me, let him forsake hymself and take vp his cross, and folowe me."

Cranmer and the Geneva Bible are identical with Tyndale while the Rheims version substitutes for the

"Whosoever"

of this form,

"If any man."

The most modern translation, Moffatt's, is

"If any one wishes to follow me, let him deny himself, take up his cross, and so follow me."

The importance of these rather inconspicuous variations lies in the different shades of meaning which have aided in obscuring the nature of this invitation. The meaning universally attributed to it is that Jesus was talking in general, in a manner applicable to all Christians in all times, of the requirements of discipleship. But the Greek itself is more readily interpretable as a direct invitation to those of his hearers who were willing to participate in the undertaking upon which he was entering, to accompany him on the trip to Jerusalem which he had just announced that he must accomplish.

A discussion of the purpose of such accompaniment is not necessary at this time; the problem under consideration is whether or not language somewhat as follows would more exactly transmit the idea contained in the Greek :

“Whosoever desires to follow me (in this enterprise) let him cease to consider his personal safety and come follow me. For whosoever prefers to save his life is going to lose it; but whosoever shall lose his life on account of me and of the announcement of the kingdom shall save it. For what shall it profit a man to gain the whole world and waste his life? or what shall a man give as an equivalent of his life? For whosoever shall refuse to acknowledge me and my words in this adulterous and sinful generation, the Son of Man shall also refuse to recognize him when he shall come in the glory of his father with the holy angels. Verily I say unto you that there are some here of those who stand by who shall not taste of death until they shall see the kingdom of God come in power.”

It will be observed that one clause of verse 34 has been omitted:

“And let him take up his cross.”

This language almost certainly was not in the actual words of Jesus. This was a figure of speech which had no meaning until after the event of the cross made it significant. It is merely a natural and unconscious insertion by Mark of an expression which was common among Christians at the time the gospel was written, an expression that was as significant to them as it would have been meaningless in the mouth of Jesus. Neither its use nor its omission, however, affects the validity of the succeeding discussion.

The expression ἐλθεῖν ὀπίσω μου has no parallel in classic Greek. Ὀπίσω is used only as an adverb until we meet it in the Septuagint, where it is abundantly used as a preposition with a genitive, as in this instance.³ In this use it is a pure Semitism and is probably a literal translation of the Aramaic words of

³E. g. Gen. 14:14, Ex. 15:20, 26:22. Numbers 25:8. Joshua 24:6.

Jesus.⁴ In the Septuagint it is used in many senses. Most frequent perhaps is the literal sense of space relation; those who came *ὀπίσω τινός* would come literally behind him, or after him.⁵ Quite frequently also is it used with verbs of pursuit in the sense of pursuing after anyone. Perhaps as frequently it is also used in the expression *ἀκολουθεῖν ὀπίσω θεοῦ*, meaning to follow after God or after strange gods. This sense is similar to though not identical with the interpretation usually placed upon this passage, that Jesus was explaining the conditions of discipleship in a spiritual sense.

In other instances however, the context makes *ὀπίσω* an almost exact equivalent of "with." And there are many instances in which almost identical words are used to request or demand that persons "follow after" in the sense of attachment to a cause or with a meaning that is military.

For example in Judges 3:28 the Greek of the Septuagint reads:

καὶ εἶπε πρὸς αὐτοὺς, κατὰβητε ὀπίσω μου, ὅτι παρέδωκε Κύριος Θεὸς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἡμῶν τὴν Μωὰβ ἐν χειρὶ ἡμῶν. καὶ κατέβησαν ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ.

This is translated in the revised version

"And he said unto them 'Follow after me, for Jehovah hath delivered your enemies, the Moabites, into your hands.' And they went down after him."

'*Οπίσω* in this instance obviously indicates the relation between the military leader and his followers.

In Judges 4:14 the language

κατέβη Βάρακ κατὰ τοῦ ὄρους Θαβὼρ καὶ δέκα χιλιάδες ἀνδρῶν ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ

is translated

⁴Cf. Blass-Thackeray, *Grammar of the New Testament Greek*, p. 129.

⁵Origen's discussion of this expression (*Comm. on Matt. ad loc.*) Wellhausen, *Das Evangelium Marci*, p. 66.

"Barak went down from Mount Tabor and ten thousand men after him."

Again the relation is not merely spatial but involves the relation between the leader and his followers.

In I Samuel 11:7

καὶ ἀπέστειλεν εἰς πᾶν ὄριον Ἰσραὴλ ἐν χειρὶ ἀγγέλων, λέγων, ὃς οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκπορευόμενος ὀπίσω Σαοὺλ καὶ ὀπίσω Σαμουὴλ, κατὰ τάδε ποιήσουσι τοῖς βουσὶν αὐτοῦ.

is translated

"And he sent throughout all the borders of Israel by the hands of messengers saying, 'Whosoever cometh not after Saul and after Samuel, so shall it be done unto his oxen.'"

Here, unquestionably, the relation intended is not merely that the men should come behind or after Saul and Samuel or as their disciples, but that they shall come in the capacity of followers subject to their orders.

In Nehemiah 4:23, the Greek translators failed to follow the Hebrew closely, so that the English translation of the Hebrew does not track with the Greek. The Septuagint reads,

καὶ ἡμην ἐγὼ καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες τῆς φυλακῆς ὀπίσω μου.

Of which an accurate translation is

"And I was there and the men of the guard behind me."

The context makes the meaning of the Greek compulsory; the men of the guard were subject to the orders of Nehemiah. To assume that it meant purely spatial relation is impossible as there was no particular front which could determine how Nehemiah must face in order that the watchmen might be behind him.

The circumstances make a similar interpretation of these words the reasonable one in this instance. Jesus was preparing to go upon an expedition, one of the highest importance, one that was actuated by a type of necessity growing out of his Messianic relation to the coming Kingdom. It was a mission

which involved danger to himself and probably to those who might accompany him. Yet he invites them to come, saying,

"If any man is willing to follow me, let him cease to consider himself and follow me."

This is clearly an invitation to enter into the relation of a follower and a participator in his enterprise. He immediately proceeds to give the reason why one should be careless of his personal safety in such an undertaking. Under existing circumstances, caution, an attempt to exercise prudence, will be of no value, for "he that prefers to save his life is going to lose it," in the terrors of that awful day of the Lord, which is immediately at hand; while by taking the hazard and participating in the movement

"He who shall lose his life for the sake of me and of my message of the coming Kingdom shall find it"

in the Kingdom of God which is to follow. He gives a definite warning of the danger involved in refusing to give to his words and to his invitation such respect as they properly deserve, by assuring his hearers that they will receive in the coming Kingdom precisely the same consideration which they have given to him and to his words in this generation. And to confirm the sense of emergency he assures them that the whole event will be consummated within the lifetime of those who listen to him; that as he so often has stated, the Kingdom of Heaven is immediately at hand.

What the response was to this general invitation, extended alike to the disciples and "the multitude," there is no information. Evidently the number who joined him at this time was not very large, for they were able to pass through Galilee without arousing suspicion, even with the process of quiet mustering of additional followers which is revealed in Matthew 17:22. This conclusion, however, is not compulsory, as it was the time of preparation for the Passover, and a considerable group could

have been assembled without arousing suspicion of any unusual purpose.

If this were the only instance where Jesus asked people to follow him in the literal physical sense of attaching themselves to an expedition, there might be grounds for hesitation in applying this interpretation to this passage. But there are several recorded occasions, both prior and subsequent to this, when he extended similar invitations. The very first invitation to anyone to attach himself to Jesus was couched in language very similar, and with an identical use of *ὀπίσω*. This was the call of the first of the Twelve, in Mark 1:17, 18:

εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Δεῦτε ὀπίσω μου, καὶ ποιήσω ὑμᾶς γενέσθαι ἁλεεῖς ἀνθρώπων. καὶ εὐθὺς ἀφέντες τὰ δίκτυα ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ.

"Jesus said unto them, Come ye after me, and I will make you to become fishers of men. And straightway they left the nets and followed him."

In this instance the result of the invitation was that they followed him, *ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ*. When the invitation was repeated shortly after to the sons of Zebedee, *ὀπίσω* was used again in describing what they did: *καὶ ἀφέντες τὸν πατέρα . . . ἀπῆλθεν ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ.*

"And leaving their father—they went after him."

The form of invitation here is practically identical with that of Mark 8:34, and it is reasonable to assume that a similar result was expected to follow its acceptance. Simon and Andrew and James and John left everything and followed him, *ἀπῆλθεν ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ*, became subject to his orders. Similarly those invited at Caesarea Philippi were expected to lose sight of their own welfare, to ignore their personal desires, to forget themselves, and to follow, evidently in the same sense in which the earliest disciples followed. This sense included a subjection of the followers' will to that of Jesus, an embarkation upon the

same undertaking in which he was engaged, and a physical following wherever he was to go.

The language of Jesus in Mark 8:33 (Matthew 16:23), in answer to the suggestion of Simon that he should not go to Jerusalem as he proposed, presents an interesting translation problem. The Greek is:

ὑπαγε ὀπίσω μου, Σατανᾶ, ὅτι οὐ φρονεῖς τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀλλὰ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων,

which has been translated, (R. V.)

Get thee behind me, Satan, for thou mindest not the things of God, but the things of men.

The meaning apparently intended and universally understood by this translation is that Peter was ordered away from Jesus, out of his sight. Now it is striking, to say the least, that in Mark 1:17 Jesus should say δεῦτε ὀπίσω μου meaning an invitation to come with him, while he says ὑπαγε ὀπίσω μου in Mark 8:33, meaning a command to go away from him. By this method the meaning of ὀπίσω is made diametrically opposite in the two instances. Were it not for the Σατανᾶ one would immediately say that the translation misses the sense; that what Jesus really meant was to silence Peter's objections, and to command him anew to follow him in this new undertaking as he had once before decided to do. Then a comma would follow ὑπαγε, and it would be best translated something like this:

Come, follow me; for you are thinking not of the purposes of God, but of human purposes.

But that Σατανᾶ interferes most seriously with such an idea. It is found in all the manuscripts and cannot be ignored. Evidently it had this definite form very early, if not in the earliest text of Mark (Matthew evidently took it directly from Mark). Yet a cautious inquiry might be permitted.

Could the recorded answer of Jesus to the tempter at the

time of the Temptation have been assimilated with the actual words of Jesus to Peter, thus obscuring the instruction to "line up" which constituted its actual form? Jesus' remark in reply to the final temptation (Matt. 4:10) was ὑπάγε, Σατανᾶ. This the revised version renders "Get thee hence, Satan." Now ὑπάγε is a word of many uses. Rarely it carries the fundamental meanings of its components; i. e., to *lead under* or to *subject*; e. g., Sept. Ex. 14:21. More frequently in the New Testament it means *depart*; e. g. Mark 6:33, Luke 8:42. Still more frequently it is used in the present imperative, as in Matt. 4:10, now under discussion, as a word of dismissal, a command to depart. But quite as frequently it is used as type of expletive, as an introduction to another imperative in a sense almost exactly equivalent to our own word "Come" in such sentences as "Come, tell me your story!" In many instances the idea of motion usually involved in it almost or quite vanishes. Such instances are Matt. 5:24; 19:21; 18:15 (W-H T Tr) Mark 10:21; Rev. 10:8. (An example from the classic Greek is Euripides, Cyclades 53: ὑπάγε, τί μελλεῖς; "Come, what are you about to do?") This without the Σατανᾶ would be the normal interpretation in Mark 8:33.

The assimilation, if one occurred, grew out of confusion in the mind of the writer, or copyist, as to these two uses of the word. Attempt to give the first meaning in the second instance would have led naturally to the completion of the other expression, and thus the word Σατανᾶ, inexplicable as an epithet applied to Simon, crept in. Matthew's addition to Mark, σκάνδαλον εἰ ἐμοῦ, then becomes an explanation furnished by that author for the strange phenomenon of Jesus calling Peter Σατανᾶ. Yet even this explanation fails to be convincing, for there is an immense difference between being a σκάνδαλον (literally *the tongue to a trap*, a means of entrapping or misleading) because of unworthy advice, and identification with the Prince

of this evil world. And against such suggestion lies the objection that lies against every type of conjectural emendation.⁶

One other suggestion may be made, which, if acceptable eliminates the difficulty. All the translators and commentators have assumed that *Σατανᾶ* is to be taken as another proper name for the devil, the great adversary of God. This however, is not necessary. The word basically is not a proper name, but is a common noun, meaning "adversary," "antagonist," "resister," "opponent," one who interferes or takes the opposite side of a controversy, an interferer, a trouble maker; its use as a strictly proper name is a late metonymy. As we have it here it is a direct transliteration of the Aramaic form of the Hebrew word שָׂטָן which occurs frequently in the Old Testament, and which is the substantive from the verb שָׂטָן meaning "to oppose," "to be hostile." The Septuagint never translates שָׂטָן by the proper noun Satan; it is actually transliterated only in I K 11:14 where it is a common noun and the translation of the R V is compulsory:

"And Jehovah raised up an adversary unto Solomon."

In other places שָׂטָן is translated by *ἐπίβουλος* (I Sam. 29:4 II Sam. 19:22 (23) I K (III K) 5:4 (18); or *διάβολος* (with the same meaning, one who makes antagonistic plans or actions) I Chron. 21:1, Ps. 109:5, in all of which cases the word evidently means *an* adversary. In Job (1:6, 7, 8, 9, 12 etc. and *passim*) and Zechariah 3:1 and 2 where the word is הַשָּׂטָן *the* antagonist, and is translated in the English versions by *Satan*, the Greek invariably uses *ὁ διάβολος*, retaining the article in all instances except one.⁷ Even in that instance, Zechariah 3:2,

⁶Montefiore, for example (*The Synoptic Gospels* II 238) suggests "But 'me' is possibly an early mistake for 'thee' which would make the words merely mean 'depart'." There is no end to the possibilities opened by this method, or to the uncertainty attaching to it.

where the Antagonist is addressed directly, the Greek reads not *Σατανᾶ* but *διάβολε*, while the Hebrew even retains the article: "The Lord rebuke thee, O *The* Adversary." Nowhere in the Old Testament is the word warped from its basic meaning of "adversary" or "the adversary" into a proper name. To the Jews of that time there was only the conception of a great nameless antagonist; there was no such proper name as Satan. Its use in such fashion is the product of many centuries of thought in which the words have been warped out of their original use.

In the New Testament the use is practically identical. Where Jesus names the prince of evil spirits he calls him Beelzebul. Where he refers to him in general terms, he used *הַשָּׂטָן*, the Aramaic form of the old Hebrew term, transliterated into the Greek as *ὁ σατανᾶς*. In the 36 instances where it occurs in the New Testament, with only seven exceptions (Matt. 4:10; 16:23 (twice) Mark 3:23; 8:33; Luke 22:3; II Cor. 12:7), three of which are direct address, the word is used always with the article, *ὁ σατανᾶς*, as a descriptive noun rather than as a proper name.* In almost every case it is better translated thus, keeping the article, as *the adversary*, *the interferer*.

It is used in direct address in only two incidents; the Temptation and the other one under discussion. In Matt. 4:10 there is no question that Jesus was addressing the Evil Spirit, the tempter. However it is not necessary even there to consider it a proper name. *Ἰπαγε, σατανᾶ* could be as fully represented

*Moffatt translates the Job instances "the adversary," though he translates the Greek *Σατανᾶς* in the N. T. by Satan as in the other English versions.

*Mark 3:23, which omits the article, is the most persuasive of the use as a proper name. However, its parallel, Matt. 12:26, uses the article, and indicates clearly that the passage was interpreted to mean *the adversary*, especially, as immediately afterwards (v. 27) Jesus uses the proper name Beelzebub. Cadoux (*The Sources of the Second Gospel*, p. 23) tries to make the two different names into an argument for separate sources for Mark, but is unconvincing when it is recognized that one is the general term, the other the proper name.

by "Get out of my sight, thou deceiver, thou interferer." And the case of Mark 8:33 is fully intelligible upon the basis of such meaning. The translation then becomes: "Come, accept my leadership, you trouble maker, for you are thinking not of divine things, but of human motives." This returns to *ὀπίσω μου* the meaning it carries elsewhere, that of the position of follower, of obedience to leadership.⁸

This suggestion, of course utterly incapable of confirmation, for no further material is available in the record.⁹ But it is entirely compatible with the accompanying facts. And if it is not acceptable, some other, different from the current explanation, must be found, for it is entirely irrational to suppose, as the standard translation does, that Jesus, when he used the language previously used by him for inviting followers, was ordering Peter away from him and immediately afterwards (Mark 8:34) used practically the same language to invite others to follow him.

⁸Swete (*The Gospel according to Mark*, ad loc.) discusses this view in part, in particular Origen's conclusion that *ὀπίσω μου* in this instance means to get behind Jesus in the sense of a follower. He does not approve the idea on account of the *ὑπαγε*, the expletive, introductory use of which he has overlooked. Like Wellhausen (see note 9, *infra*) he identifies the construction with the *εἰς τὰ ὀπίσα* of the Septuagint which of course is unjustifiable, but also calls attention to the construction in Isaiah xxxviii, 17, where *ὀπίσω μου* undoubtedly means "behind me," though also in a figurative sense. There is no doubt about the "behind me" translation; the question is solely concerning the sense in which Peter is supposed to "get behind" Jesus, and will be determined largely by the reader's general conception of Jesus' plans at this time. Swete has the traditional idea, and has no particular need for the interpretation proposed here. Origen's reasoning is very similar to that in the text *supra*, identifying the *ὀπίσω μου* of this instance with that of Matt. 4:19 and 10:38, but not applying the same idea of *ὑπαγε* and *σατανᾶ*.

⁹Wellhausen (*Das Evangelium Marci*, p. 66, on Mark 8:32, 33) takes a directly opposite view: "*Ὁπίσω μου* kann nicht durch ein komma von *ὑπαγε* getrennt werden, aber allerdings auch nicht wie in 2 Reg. 9:19 bedeuten: begib dich hinter mich. Es fügt dem *ὑπαγε*, welches in Mt. 4,10 allein steht, nicht hinzu, und ist das selbe wie *וְלֹאֲחֹרָא* ; vgl. Joa. 6;66; 18:6; 20:14. Das Pronomen der ersten Person ist also unrichtig ergänzt, besser wäre das der zweiten Person gewesen." "*Ὁπίσω μου* cannot be divided from *ὑπαγε* through

What Jesus wanted at that time was followers; he was engaged in inviting followers; and his remark to Peter, complicated though it be with other ideas in the form in which we now have it, must have been an invitation to do what Peter actually did do, that is, to follow him, even though Peter's ideas about what should or would occur were in error.

The circumstance mentioned in Luke 9:57-59 and Matthew 8:22 is another instance where Jesus invited one to become an immediate, physical follower:

"He said to another 'follow me.' But he said, 'Lord, suffer me first to go and bury my father'; but he said unto him, 'follow me, and leave the dead to bury their dead'."

This invitation interpreted in a purely spiritual sense is not

a comma, but also above all it cannot signify, as in II Kings, 9:19, 'Get thyself behind me.' It adds nothing to the ὑπαγε which in Matthew 4:10 stands alone, and is the same as the Hebrew **רל לאחורא** back! to the rear! As for example, John 6:66; 18:6; 20:14. The pronoun of the first person is also incorrectly supplied, that would better have been the second person." This would perhaps be convincing, did Wellhausen give any reason for his so positive statement. But he not only does not support it; he discusses it on the basis of an assumed identity with an entirely different construction. The *εἰς τὰ ὀπίσα* of the three citations from John are not at all identical with the plain *ὀπίσω μου* of our problem, or even with the *ὀπίσω μου* of II Kings 9:19. The three John examples clearly have a purely spatial relation; the citation from II Kings, more nearly parallel with our example, adds a personal relation to that of space; while all of them are constructions essentially different from the one we are considering because of the introductory *εἰς τὰ*. "Go among the things behind me" or merely "behind" is perhaps quite equivalent to the Hebrew expression, but is also quite other than "come after me." Obviously the exact parallels are to be found among the examples quoted in the text. Wellhausen's statement is purely an unsupported statement of the old view, presenting the necessities involved in handling the Greek so as to conform to the classic idea of identity with Matthew 4:10. His conclusion that *ὀπίσω μου* adds nothing to the ὑπαγε is pure assumption, and considering the use of *ὀπίσω μου* in the words of Jesus himself, in Mark 1:17, 1:20 and 8:34, quite unjustifiable.

And the suggestion that the pronoun should be in the second person assumes that he should have said something entirely different from what he did say! The safer assumption is that the expression as used here has the same effect as when used by Jesus elsewhere, to wit, an invitation to Simon to "follow me."

intelligible. There is no contradiction between discipleship to Jesus in a spiritual sense and the performance of the filial duty of burial of a parent. Certainly Jesus did not mean that those who follow him as disciples should not bury their non-christian parents. The real meaning is that for the purpose in hand, for which Jesus asked this man to follow him, there was not sufficient time to permit the act which the follower proposed; the end was immediately at hand, those who were not with Jesus would be outside the Kingdom, therefore he should leave the dead to be buried by those who also were the same as dead, and come away with Jesus. Similarly the succeeding verses of Luke 9:61-62, where another new follower requested permission to bid farewell to those of his household, describe an incident that is not intelligible except upon the assumption that this man was going immediately to follow Jesus away from where they were. No farewells are needed by those who begin to follow Jesus in the sense of spiritual discipleship. Only the supposition that they were embarking upon a dangerous enterprise, which severed human ties and which permitted no consideration of normal human motives, would justify the answer of Jesus to this man:

"No man having put his hand to the plow and looking back is fit for the kingdom of God."

The conclusion is irresistible. Jesus had decided to go to Jerusalem. He invited others to go with him, urging them to ignore the danger, promising an equivalent reward for those who should lose their lives in this dangerous undertaking, assuring them that any attempt to avoid the danger would not merely be ineffective, but would result in complete disaster when the kingdom of God should actually arrive. As a result of this he gathered a nucleus of followers beginning at Caesarea Philippi, which mustered additional adherents in Galilee from the numbers who had been attached to Jesus before he departed to avoid Herod, and added others by continuous invitations as they passed

through Perea, and on to Jerusalem. Those who followed were not merely an incidental multitude of those who were curious to hear his message or of those who came to be healed or to see signs and wonders, but constituted a loose organization, personally attached to him as his followers, operating under his orders.*

Something of this sense of organization and authority appears in one of the names by which Jesus was addressed. Usually in the Synoptic Gospels the Aramaic word used by his followers was translated by *κύριος* which we translate as "Lord." This was merely a term of deferential homage, an expression of deep respect. A similar meaning is found in the *ῥαββεί* or *ῥαββουνί* which are close transliterations of an Aramaic title of honor and high position which also included a recognition of superior knowledge and wisdom. The last mentioned idea is also

*Eisler, *The Messiah Jesus and John the Baptist*, emphasizes the significance of the word *ἐξοδος* in Luke 9:31, and builds upon it the theory that Jesus planned an exodus into the wilderness, to be organized at Jerusalem, which ultimately developed into a violent outbreak against the Roman authorities at Jerusalem. The passage occurs in the story of the Transfiguration, which immediately follows the story of the Caesarea Philippi invitation, about eight days later. The word is usually translated "death," in this place so that the passage reads "and spake of his decease which he was about to accomplish in Jerusalem." This meaning of *ἐξοδος* is paralleled in N. T. only once, then not certainly (2 Pet. 1:15), and raises enough doubt to give color to the Eisler idea, or something like it. If the preposition permitted, it would be much more reasonable to translate it "and spake of the expedition he was about to accomplish *into* Jerusalem." This would be entirely consecutive with the idea of beginning an expedition by the invitation of vs. 23-27. But all the Greek manuscripts read *ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ* which can be translated only as "in Jerusalem,"—all save one. D reads *εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ* which fits the suggestion exactly, and fully justifies the *ἐξοδος εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ*. The Latin manuscripts all read *in Iherosolyma* (or Hierusalem). Since *Iherosolyma* (Hierusalem) is indeclinable, its case here may be either ablative (as with the other Greek manuscripts) or accusative (with D), so that it would not be unjustifiable to say that the Western text in this passage fully supports the suggestion "the expedition into Jerusalem which he was about to accomplish." This idea, if tenable, would completely eliminate the basis upon which Eisler's theory is built. Carried out, it would mean that the two incidents (the invitation and the transfiguration conference) were originally consecutive and coordinated, but that the growing emphasis on the idea of Jesus' preknowledge of his death by the time the Greek manuscripts were written had overwhelmed the original idea, and the change of preposition was made to conform with the changed outlook, while the earlier

expressed in the *διδάσκαλος* which is often used in all four of the gospels.

In Luke however, another term of address is found six times, in the title *ἐπιστάτης*. This carries an added connotation, very different from the feeling of respect and honor which makes up the other appellations.¹⁰ The base meaning of this word is, one set over another or others, with authority. Wherever used, and it is used many times, in the Septuagint,¹¹ it carries this fundamental notion of organized and recognized authority. In numerous instances it represents a military authority, is translated "commander."¹² And its use in addressing Jesus indicates

Latin manuscripts and D preserved the original story. The suggestion is made only tentatively, and to be considered as a possibility in connection with Eisler's thesis; it is by no means sufficiently supported to justify definitely setting the witness of all the Greek manuscripts aside, and besides this idea is not at all essential to the thesis of this book. But it is at least an interesting possibility and is not psychologically contradictory.

¹⁰Dalman (*The Words of Jesus*, p. 336) says "The form *ἐπιστάτα* occurring six times in Luke (5-5; 8-24, 45; 9-33, 49; 17-13) alongside of the commoner *διδάσκαλε*, is merely a Greek synonym for the latter, and both are to be traced back to the Aramaic רַבִּי." But he is evidently in error, for not once is the Hebrew word which is translated *ἐπιστάτης* in the Septuagint the equivalent of רַבִּי. Nowhere else can the two Greek words be found used as synonyms; the basic ideas are entirely different. It is true that *ἐπιστάτης* is used by Luke several times in connections prior to the beginning of the trip to Jerusalem, but the title once carried into the story, was very readily transferred into contexts other than those in which it had its origin. The essential point lies in the fact that this authoritative, semi-military title, was attached to Jesus at all.—Dalman's appeal to the Peshitta, which, he says, always translates *ἐπιστάτα* by רַב, is not convincing, for by the time of the translation into the Peshitta the idea that the various forms of address were practically identical in meaning was universal and the original distinction was lost. It may be observed also that the other Syriac versions do not always use רַב; for instance the *Evangelion da Mepharresshe* at Luke 8:24 has *maran*, the same word used in the customary expression of the early Christians *maran atha*, Lord, come, which still carries with it some of the sense of authority contained in *ἐπιστάτης* and lacking in the other usual forms of address.

¹¹E. g. Ex. 1:11, 5:14; I (III) K. 5:16; II Chron. 2:2, 31:12.

¹²E. g., II (IV) K 25:19; Jer. 52:25. In Jer. 36:26 it is translated "ruler."

recognition of actual capacity to command, of position as head of an organization.

It is notable that Luke, who alone of the evangelists uses this term, is in a preeminent sense the chronicler of the expedition on Jerusalem. The special material of Luke, that part which is drawn neither from Mark nor Q, is composed largely of the infancy narrative and of the events which occurred on the road to Jerusalem and in that city. To our knowledge of the Galilean period he has added only very little, but of this later period he is the source of most of our detailed information. Evidently he was especially interested in this phase of Jesus' career, and had access to material not available to the others or that was ignored by them.¹³ And it is significant that the evangelist who more than any of the others was impressed with the dramatic movement upon Jerusalem, is the one who also preserves for us the form of address which shows the organized, semi-military authority which Jesus clearly exercised in that historic journey. The authority that sent out the seventy to make advance arrangements, that requisitioned quarters in Jericho and an animal in Bethphage; that appears in the dread with which he was approached and his capacity to carry his crowd forward despite the fear which had seized them; that arranged the messianic features of the approach to Jerusalem, that reached its highest fulfillment in the expulsion of the merchants and bankers and officials from the Temple and the exercise of complete control there for his one great day, is clearly manifest in the *ὀπίσω μου* of his invitation and the title, *ἐπιστάτα*, commander, which clung to the tradition through the years, to be recovered and preserved by Luke, the latest and most thorough investigator who attempted to write his record.

¹³Creed, *The Gospel according to St. Luke*, Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, p. 219, and Burkitt, *Jesus Christ*, p. 74, think he may have acquired it at Caes-

IV

Συστρεφόμενων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ

Matthew 17:22 A. V. reads:

“And when they abode in Galilee Jesus said to them, ‘the Son of Man shall be betrayed into the hands of men.’”

This passage is, apparently, not especially significant. As a matter of fact it is one verse of the New Testament which has aroused practically no comment throughout the centuries. Of the early fathers only Origen and Hilary have commented upon it. It appears to be a bald statement of fact, without exegetical value and devoid of historical significance.

Yet this verse carries with it a textual problem which is basic in the determination of the accuracy of the conception of the nature of Jesus' journey to Jerusalem, which is the thesis of this study.

The translation of this passage has had slight variation in the important English versions. Wyckliffe gave it,

“and whilis thei weren abidyng to gidre in Galile: Ihesus seide to hem, etc.”

Tyndale translates it,

“As they passed the tyme in Galile, Iesus sayde unto them, etc.”

Cranmer's Bible has it

“While they were occupied in Galile Iesus sayd unto them, etc.”

The Geneva Bible is identical with Tyndale. The Rheims Bible has it,

“And when they conuersed in Galile Iesus sayd to them, etc.”

area, where at one time (Acts 21:8) he lived in the home of Philip the evangelist, one of the Twelve, who made the trip with Jesus and would have been a dependable source for this information. This first opportunity may have been supplemented during Luke's later two year stay in Caesarea while Paul was awaiting trial by the Roman procurator after his arrest in Jerusalem.

The revised version is identical with King James, and Good-speed puts it,

“As they were going about in Galilee.”

This is enough variation here to indicate some uncertainty as to the exact meaning of the passage. This uncertainty becomes more evident when we find in the margin of the American Revised Version, which in its text retains the A. V. form, the suggestion “Some ancient authorities read ‘were gathering themselves together’,” and is emphasized when we find that Moffatt translates “when his adherents mustered in Galilee.”

This marginal suggestion, and the Moffatt translation, bring a new note into the passage. The other versions, though varying among themselves, still have a general uniformity, indicating that the variation is one of interpretation rather than of original language lying behind the translation. All of them indicate that Jesus spoke to them while they were merely passing the time in Galilee; the King James and Revised Versions fairly represent the spirit of them all. But these modern suggestions (Moffatt and R. V. margin) bring in an entirely new feature. According to them, Jesus and his associates were not merely staying in Galilee, but were busy in assembling themselves, in “mustering” in Galilee. The difference in translation reflects the difference in the text mentioned with it.

It is of course obvious that the American revisers' marginal translation and the Moffatt translation sustain the idea that Jesus was gathering a crowd to take with him, while the old translation has no effect whatever upon that thesis. Consequently, the question as to the variations in the language and their manuscript support becomes of first importance.

The Greek text which was before the translators in 1611, was practically the Textus Receptus as we now have it, which

had in fact been the text which had been translated in all the variations prior thereto.

In this text the verse in question reads,

Ἀναστρεφομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ, εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, κ.τ.λ.

Consequently, all the variants in the English versions are merely different attempts to translate the Greek verb *ἀναστρέφω* as found in the Textus Receptus. Subsequent editors of the Greek text, including Griesbach, Scholz and Tischendorf in his first seven editions, carry the same Greek. But first in Lachmann, later in Tregelles' New Testament, followed by Tischendorf's eighth edition of the Greek New Testament, this verse reads:

Συστρεφομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ, εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, κ. τ. λ.

Since that time all the great editors, with the exception of Scrivener and Burgon, including Westcott and Hort, Nestle and Von Soden, read *συστρεφομένων* with Lachmann, Tischendorf and Tregelles. Evidently all these great editors rely upon the "ancient authorities" mentioned in the American Revised Version's margin. The English revisers did not accept this reading, but retained the old.

Examining the manuscript authorities for these two forms, seeking to learn why they differ as they do, and how important the difference is, we find that all the existing Greek manuscripts, with the exception of three, carry this verse as does the Textus Receptus. But those three manuscripts are *Σ*, B and 1, the two oldest uncials and the cursive most closely allied with them.

The almost overwhelming weight of *Σ* and B in agreement would, ordinarily, be sufficient to determine the text at this point. Agreement of these two manuscripts, a century older than any other Greek manuscript of the New Testament now known to be in existence, so old in fact that probably not more than one or two copies intervene between them and the originals them-

selves, in addition to the fact that they were almost certainly written in Alexandria, the greatest seat of learning of that day and the seat of the greatest precision in the production of critical manuscripts of the ancient world, is for scholars almost invariably sufficient to overbalance all the other manuscript evidence in existence. Very rarely will any modern textual critic be willing to set aside a reading supported by these two great manuscripts for any other manuscript authorities whatsoever. They are not necessarily errorless, however, and in a few cases their combined authority has been abandoned on grounds of inherent improbability. They might possibly be in error in this instance; and as none of the editors who have adopted this reading have had in mind the effect which it is now proposed to give to the changed language, it becomes necessary to go a little further into the inherent probabilities of this reading.

It may first be suggested that the argument *ad aspera*¹ so frequently applied in difficult passages, is clearly applicable to this place. To apply this test, it is necessary to examine the exact significance of the term proposed to be substituted.

Συστρέφω is used as a verb in only one other place in the New Testament.² In this place it is used to mean the assembling or gathering together of a collection of sticks into a bundle. The derivative noun, συστροφή, is used in one place;³ there it means an unlawful concourse of people, a riotous gathering. In the Septuagint the verb appears seventeen times. In eleven of these it is used as an equivalent of some form of the Hebrew

¹Proclivi scriptioni praestat ardua. "The difficult reading is preferable to the easy one." Cf. Nestle, *Introduction to New Testament Criticism*, p. 157: *Lectio difficilior placet*, "The more difficult reading satisfies." Westcott and Hort, *Introduction to the New Testament in the original Greek*, p. 22, §28, in discussing the underlying principle of this well recognized rule of textual criticism says, "No motive can be thought of which could lead a scribe to introduce consciously a worse reading instead of a better."

²Acts 28:3.

³Acts 19:40.

verb קָשַׁר which has the basic meaning "conspire" and in every instance is translated in both King James and the Revised Versions as some form of "conspired" or "made a conspiracy." In classic Greek συστρέφω has a root meaning of turning or rolling together, being used for example as the equivalent of "twisting up." Its most frequent classic use, however, is as a military term meaning, in the middle voice, to form into a compact body, to collect themselves, to rally, to muster. Apparently, among the Septuagint and New Testament writers it had acquired the additional meaning above referred to, of a secret and unlawful assemblage, with purposes contrary to government, and if accepted as the proper reading in this place it should carry such additional meaning.

The word ἀναστρέφω has as its basic meaning "to turn again," "to turn hither and thither." Hence it has readily acquired the New Testament usage of "behaving oneself"; it is frequently translated, "walk." The idea of "abide" or "rest," given it in the usual translations of this verse, though perhaps a little strange, is not entirely foreign to it, and perhaps is as fairly representative of the probable application in this place, as any other equivalent that could be found. Such a meaning is not in any sense contradictory to the notion that has prevailed generally as to the character of Jesus' operations, so very naturally the passage has acquired this meaning.

Now the application of the *argumentum ad aspera* is this: if the original reading was ἀναστρέφω, *abide*, upon what theory would anyone, especially anyone of the precision shown generally by the copyists of \aleph and B, change it to συστρέφω, of which the normal and current significance would be a "gathering of themselves together" in a secret and unlawful sense? In other words it is so extremely unlikely as to be practically impossible that any careful scribe or corrector would change a word en-

tirely compatible with the current conception of the story of Jesus for a word entirely incompatible with it. Upon the other hand if the original word was *συστρέφω* and the conception of the story which is necessary to make this term understandable in this connection had already passed out of the minds of the Christians of that day, it is easy to see how an early reviser, finding this word practically untranslatable according to his understanding, could make the slight modification necessary to turn it into a word which would fit his ideas and make the passage rational.

In other words, intrinsic probability is all with the assumption that *συστρέφω* (the reading of \aleph B and 1) was the original word which later for some reason was changed by someone into *ἀναστρέφω*.⁴ The change made the passage comprehensible and, therefore, determined the text from that time on. Let us now see what the record of the texts, other than the uncial Greeks, indicates as to the probability of this view.

Because of the apparent insignificance of the passage, we are deprived of a type of evidence frequently available for such a situation. Only one of the Greek Fathers who wrote prior to the date of \aleph -B has mentioned this passage. Origen (flor. 185-254) mentions the passage in his commentary upon Matthew, but unfortunately throws no light upon our problem. Evidently he quoted from memory, for he uses the verb without either of the troublesome prefixes, making the passage read, *στρεφομένων δὲ αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν*. This of course is worth just nothing to our inquiry. Hilary, who wrote in Latin about the time that these manuscripts (\aleph and B) were produced (flor. 300-367)

⁴Loisy, *L'Evangiles Synoptiques* II, 58, note 3, suggests the same idea: "*ἀναστρεφομένων* peut être une correction." "*Ἀναστρεφομένων* may perhaps be a correction." But he offers no reason for actually concluding that such was the case.

mentions the passage, but uses the vulgate form, which will be discussed later.

Consequently, we are without patristic evidence.

In the versions we are not in much better case so far as the Syriac and Coptic are concerned. In the Syriac, Burkitt gives as the equivalent of both the Curetonian and Sinaitic manuscripts "And when they were abiding in Galilee." Gwilliam gives it in Latin as *Quum versarentur autem in Gellila*, with a variation from another manuscript *quum ambularent*. Apparently, both these texts are based on ἀναστρέφω. No Syriac text as quoted by Burkitt or Gwilliam shows other variation. Horner quotes these same authorities as support for συστρέφω, but the Syriac specialists do not justify that position.

These versions all were made as late or later than some of the Greek uncial manuscripts which carry ἀναστρέφω and consequently are of no greater authority. The Diatessaron was translated from the Greek into the Syriac about A. D. 170 and in its original form would be a valuable witness to the Greek text as it then prevailed. But aside from the fact that we have it only in a retranslation into the Arabic made at a much later date and subject to intervening modification to conform to the current text, unfortunately the Diatessaron does not use Matthew at this point of the narrative, but adopts the parallel from Luke, which does not include the feature in question. Consequently we are left without effective witness from the Syriac.

Similar facts apply to the Sahidic and Bohairic forms of the Egyptian version. The Sahidic is translated by Horner "as they returned to Galilee." The Bohairic gives "but having returned to Galilee" etc. Both of these he considers to be the equivalent of ἀναστρέφω but, as in the case of the Syriac, all the Coptic versions were made later than \aleph and B. Consequently, they are of no more authority than the Greek manuscript W pro-

duced in the same area, and at approximately the same time, which also carries ἀναστρέφω, which authority is certainly less than that of **Σ** and B.

Only in the old Latin do we have access to versions certainly earlier in their origin than **Σ** and B. The Vulgate was produced only a little later, less than half a century, but certainly still more years divided it from the exemplar or exemplars, from which these two great manuscripts were copied, than came between them and their own exemplars. It gives the reading "Conversantibus autem eis in Galilaia," the effect of which will be discussed later.

In the old Latin proper we find a type of text which reaches back perhaps further than any other type, certainly further back than any of the other versions. Those texts which antedate the Vulgate and were, as a matter of fact, the basic text for Jerome's revision, had their origin at uncertain date, but certainly very far back towards the very earliest years of Christianity. It is customary to assume that the period of translation into the Latin did not come until well along in the second century but there is little reason to support this view.⁵ The Greek was widely distributed throughout the Empire at the time of the beginning of the church, but it was by no means the universal language. The reason customarily offered for believing that everybody could speak Greek, to wit: that official documents of the Empire were issued in "both languages" is as a matter of fact proof of just the contrary. The necessity of using both languages grew out of the fact that there were numbers of people who understood only one or the other of the two languages. If everybody could

⁵Irenaeus, who wrote about a. d. 180 in Greek, was little earlier than Tertullian, who wrote in Latin from 198 to 217, and whose quotations indicate translations into the Latin, already current and probably made at a considerably earlier date. Minucius Felix is probably still earlier, and carries the same presumption as to his quotations. Westcott and Hort, *Introduction*, p. 78, §108.

speaking Greek, there would have been no necessity for retaining the Latin; but as a matter of fact, the official language of the Empire continued to be Latin even though both languages were used, and the influence of the dominant Romans must have given great prestige to the Latin in all the provinces. In those sections of the Empire that had been Romanized for a considerable period, the great mass of the population used Latin to the exclusion of the Greek. Particularly must this have been true in those areas like Italy, France, Spain and Rumania, where the modern language is only a modification of the Latin. Out of all that welter of polyglot population, have come no great peoples whose modern language is a modification of the Greek; in Greece alone has that language been able to hold its ground. This makes it practically certain that at this period, especially in all the western sections of the Empire, such as Africa, Italy and Gaul, the dominant language among both the official and the common population was Latin.

Consequently, though many of the early Christians spoke and read the Greek language with freedom, in every western congregation, composed for the most part as all of them were, of the uneducated classes, there must have been a large percentage who could understand with ease only the Latin. The assumption that the church spread most quickly among the exclusively Greek speaking elements seems to be properly based primarily upon the fact that the letters of Paul and the Gospels themselves were written first in Greek. This is evidence only of the fact that the New Testament *writers*, in most if not in all instances products of the East, chose for their own medium of expression the language easier for themselves.⁶ There is no evidence that

⁶Clement, who wrote to the Corinthians from Rome, naturally used Greek because he was addressing Greek readers. That does not signify that he used no Latin in his own church at Rome.

the preaching of the early Christian workers was confined to Aramaic or Greek speaking *hearers*; undoubtedly even by the time of Nero there were great numbers of people who had become converted to the Christian faith and who spoke nothing but Latin. And for the comfort and instruction of such Christians there is every reason to believe that parts or all of the New Testament were very early translated into their own tongue.⁷

Such early translations were of course the precursors of the more carefully produced translations of the Gospels complete, or the entire New Testament. For this reason, the Latin versions ought to be witnesses to the early text, of extraordinary value, as the exemplars of our present manuscripts of these versions, some of which are as early as the fourth century, must have been at least as old, or perhaps older, than the manuscripts from which \aleph and B were copied. But their value is vitiated by the extraordinary carelessness with which these translations were made. Already by the time Jerome prepared the Vulgate, the Latin translations had become so corrupt, so full of variations of many types, that he was unwilling to use any of them as a guide, saying that there were as many different types of texts as there were manuscripts. This carelessness was not confined to the older texts; Jerome himself used no greater uniformity or precision in making his translation than did the others. The use of many different Latin words to translate the same Greek word is characteristic of all the Latin texts, Jerome's with the rest. The Vulgate, for example, uses eleven different verbs where the LXX used $\sigmaυστρέφω$ in the Old Testament, most of these instances being translations of one and the same Hebrew word.⁸

⁷See Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, ii, 14, 15. Quoted in Nestle, *Introduction*, pp. 108-9-10.

⁸The extent of this variation, and at the same time the basic meaning of $\sigmaυστρέφω$, may well be observed from the following table of parallel translations of that Greek verb where it appears in the Septuagint:

	Septuagint	Vulgate	Hebrew	Hebrew root meaning	English (AV and RV)
Gen. 43:30	συνεστρέφετο	commata fuerant	נִכְבְּרוּ	grow warm	did yearn; yearned
Judges 11:30	συνεστράφησαν	congregati sunt	נִתְקַלְקְלוּ	gather	were gathered
Judges 12:4	συνέστρεφεν	vocatis ad secunctis viris	נִתְקַבֵּץ	assemble	gathered together (Moffat, mustered)
II Sam (II K) 15:31	τοῖς συνεστρεφόμενοις	in conjuratione	בִּקְשָׁרִים	conspire	the conspirators
I K (III K) 16:16	συνεστράφη	rebellasse	קָשַׁר	conspire	hath conspired
II K (IV K) 9:14	συνεστράφη	conjuravit	נִתְקַשְׁרָה	conspire	conspired
II K (IV K) 10:9	συνεστράφη	conjuravi	קָשַׁרְתִּי	conspire	conspired
II K (IV K) 14:10	συνεστράφησαν	facta est conjuratio	נִתְקַשְׁרָה	conspire	made a conspiracy
II K (IV K) 15:10	συνεστράφησαν	conjuravit	נִתְקַשְׁרָה	conspire	conspired
II K (IV K) 15:15	συστροφή ἢ συνεστράφη	conjuratio per quem tetendit insidias	וְנִתְקַשְׁרָה	conspire	conspiracy which he made
II K (IV K) 15:25	συνεστράφη	conjuravit	קָשַׁר	conspire	conspired
II K (IV K) 15:30	συνέστρεψε συστρέμμα	conjuravit et tetendit insidias	וְנִתְקַשְׁרָה	conspire	made a conspiracy
II K (IV K) 21:23	συνεστράφησαν	tetenderunt insidias	נִתְקַשְׁרָה	conspire	conspired
II K (IV K) 21:24	τοὺς συστραφέντας	conjuraverunt	בִּנְקֻשָׁרִים	conspire	them that had conspired
Jer. 23:19	συνεστρεφόμενη . . . ἥξει	erumpens veniet	מִתְהַחֲלֵל . . . יָחֹל	whirl, turn about	AV it shall fall grievously upon; RV whirling . . . it shall burst upon.
Eze. 1:13	συνεστρεφόμενων	discurrens	מִתְהַחֲלֵקָה	(in Hithp) go, wander	went up and down
Micah 1:7	συνέστρεφεν	revertentur			shall return

(The Septuagint translation here is obviously in error; it corresponds to the Hebrew neither in root meaning, nor in tense, and the use of prepositions is exactly opposite (ἐκ for יַד). Jerome evidently translated directly from the Hebrew at this point, ignoring the Septuagint)

Accuracy under such circumstances is of course impossible; and in the New Testament both the Vulgate and the older Latin manuscripts show as great variety.

Consequently, one naturally expects what is actually found to be the case in all instances like the one under discussion, to wit: that there are great variations in the forms which this verse took in the old Latin writers. *f*,¹ *g*,² have the verb the same as in the Vulgate, but turn the noun into the accusative:

conversantibus autem eis in Galileam.

a, *b*, *ff*² are the same, except for change of the pronoun and inversion of the ablative absolute:

Ipsis autem conversantibus in Galileam.

In *ff*¹ there is a change of the verb:

Redeuntibus autem illis in Gallileam.

c is essentially the same only with the ablative absolute reversed:

Ipsis autem redeuntibus.

In *e*, however, we find an entirely different rendering:

cum autem regrederetur ipse in Galileam.

Two conclusions can be drawn from these varying translations. The first is that there was by no means a common understanding among the early Latin churches as to the meaning of this passage. Evidently they had trouble with it and did various things in attempting to make it intelligible. The other is that all of these translations are more nearly equivalent to ἀναστρέφω than to συστρέφω. Tregelles gives Vulgate with *f*,¹ *g*,² as supports for the reading συστρέφω and to these both Tischendorf and Horner add *a*, *b*, *ff*,² *n* and *q*, but in this they are all evidently in error. *Conversor* is not the usual translation of συστρέφω. As a matter of fact, at no other place in either the Old or New Testament is συστρέφω translated by any form of *conversor* by Jerome; but on the contrary, *conversor* is the

word usually used as the equivalent of ἀναστρέφω. Of the eleven instances of ἀναστρέφω in the New Testament, seven are rendered by some form of *conversor* in the Vulgate; in the thirteen instances of ἀναστροφή all are translated *conversatio*. And certainly *redeo* and *regredior* are more consonant with the basic idea of ἀναστρέφω than with that of συστρέφω.

Consequently, the testimony of the Latin versions upon its face appears to support the reading ἀναστρέφω. This outcome, substantiated as it is by all the Greek manuscripts except three, and by all the Syriac and Coptic versions, would appear to establish a strong presumption in favor of ἀναστρέφω as the original word, were it not for the impossibility of seeing how any copyist, and especially the copyist of documents so exact as B and 8, could ever have changed it to the incomprehensible συστρέφω.

This suggests another approach. If a rational explanation can be found whereby the original συστρέφω came to be changed to ἀναστρέφω, the probability will revert to the support of the two great old Greek Uncials. And such an explanation is not hard to find.

The suggestion has previously been made that the story of Jesus' expedition to Jerusalem, as it was told by the Synoptists, early became lost to the church.⁹ It had no religious value; it

⁹In Introduction, p. x, Cf. J. Bartlett, Article *Apostolic Fathers*, Enc. Brit. Thirteenth Edition, 2-203: "The perspective of the gospel was seriously changed and its most distinctive features obscured." This statement is probably intended in a spiritual sense by Bartlett, but it is fully as true in the historical sense. Similarly B. Weiss, *Introduction* xiv, showing that the early Christians lost the key to the understanding of the Apocalypse, so that it became a matter for discussion whether this book should be received as part of the New Testament, and Wrede calls attention to the fact that the basic ideas had changed even in the time between the writing of Mark and the compilation of Matthew: "Diese Übersicht beweist schon, dasz die Anschauung vom Messianische Geheimnis für Matthaeus nicht mehr die Bedeutung besitzt wie bei Markus. "This review indicates clearly that the outlook upon the 'Messianic Secret no longer had the meaning for Matthew as in Mark." *Das Messiasge-*

fitted not at all into the theological form into which Paul and John had cast the gospel. Jesus, as the great preacher of righteousness, as the great sacrifice for the sins of the world, as the first fruits of the resurrection, as the λόγος, did not comport well with the idea of the unsuccessful leader of an expedition which sought and failed to dispossess the legal authorities of his nation, and who died as a penalty for his failure. Paul himself deliberately attempted to divest the story of its human elements. "We know no man after the flesh," said he; "even though we have known Christ in the flesh, yet now we know him so no more." Such we know to have been the general attitude of the early Christians, in whatever place we find their thoughts expressed. They cared little for the historical verities; their interest was in the future which confronted them, and in the spiritual significance of the words and acts of Jesus; and in such atmosphere the idea of such an unsuccessful attempt upon the part of Jesus faded away.

With this attitude upon the part of the earliest Latin translators, and with their demonstrated carelessness in translation, it is not difficult to see how some early one among them, not overly scholarly in his use of Greek, used *conversor* as an equivalent of συστρέφω. The mere form of the words would suggest such an idea to any Latin speaking writer who was not intimately acquainted with the precise variations in the significance of the Greek. The *con* of the Latin is the exact equivalent of the σύν of the Greek; likewise the *versor* of the Latin corresponds

heimnis p. 152. Similarly pp. 159-160. W. Goguel, *Jesus the Nazarene*, Stephens translation, p. 263, thinks the process began before the gospels themselves were written: "At the time of the composition of the oldest of our gospels a dogmatic system had already been substituted for the historic treatment of events, and this had happened under conditions such that those who compiled the gospels found only fragmentary tradition before them." The same idea, of changed perspective, may be found in Schweitzer, *The Mystery of the Kingdom of God*, p. 247, though approached from a different assumption of the facts.

very closely with the *στρέφω* of the Greek. It was necessary only that he translate the word in accordance with the meanings of the parts of the two words rather than with the significance of the completed compounds. The ease with which such an error could be made is shown by the fact, above referred to, that men even of the scholarship of Tregelles, Tischendorf and Horner have made it in our own times. Such an error, if it occurred, was of course induced by the fact that *conversor* not merely translated the component parts of *συστρέφω* but also coincided in meaning with the idea of the purpose of the trip to Jerusalem which had already become generally accepted.

Now the Greek Manuscripts (S and B) which are probably copies from originals older than Lucian, (A. D. 300) retain *συστρέφω*. Apparently the *ἀναστρέφω* came into the Greek text with the recension made by Lucian, and through authority of that recension retained its place in the text from that time on dominant. Two observations concerning Lucian's relations to such a change may be made. The first is, that according to Jerome, he did not hesitate to make modifications in the text if it suited his purpose. The second is that Lucian, prior to his work in Antioch, had lived in Rome and must have become familiar with the Latin forms of the Gospels.¹⁰ He was of course familiar with the fact that in this passage some of the Latin texts had *conversor*. Now, since *conversor* made sense according to the current idea, and *συστρέφω* did not; and since *conversor* was the exact equivalent, in almost universal use, of *ἀναστρέφω*, for which it was used almost everywhere else in the New Testament; it was a perfectly simple procedure for him to make the substitution, assuming that the *συστρέφω* of the old Greek manuscript then before him,

¹⁰Streeter—*The Four Gospels* pp. 116-117, emphasizes the possibility that Lucian may have used Roman mss. in his revision, though he overlooks the reason both for the revision itself and for the use of the Latin sources. See note 12 *infra*. Cf. Nestle, *Introduction*, 182, Note 2, also pp. 176-177.

was an error, for the reason that it was unintelligible. For making such a change he is scarcely subject to criticism; only by making it could he make the passage intelligible to himself and to the other Christians of his time, and the method of emendation is one that has been used by textual critics always, even down to our own generation.¹¹ Emendation is never useful until the passage is unintelligible without it and becomes necessary whenever that occurs.¹²

Of such a course of procedure there is of course no definite evidence available. But such a supposition contradicts none of

¹¹This method was in use even more freely in those early days when the letter of the text was of comparatively small consequence to the Christian who was intent primarily upon the meaning to be drawn from it. Cf. Wellhausen, *Einleitung in die drei Ersten Evangelien* p. 2: "Die Löser (und Schreiber) der Evangelien achteten nicht so sehr auf den Buchstaben als auf den Sinn; und sie scheuten sich nicht ihr Interesse für die Sache dadurch kundzugeben dass sie ihr wirkliches oder ihr gewünschtes Verstandnis in den überlieferten Wortlaut eintrügen." "The readers (and writers) of the Gospels were careful not so much of the letter as of the meaning; and they did not hesitate to reveal their interest in the matter by the fact that they thrust their actual or their desired understanding into the traditional language."

¹²Lucian did his work in the midst of the persecution of Diocletian. Critics in general have probably underestimated the effect upon the New Testament text of Diocletian's attempt to destroy all the New Testament manuscripts. Many churches were left entirely without Bibles or evangelia, all of which had to be reproduced. Large areas frequently must have been entirely stripped even of exemplars from which the new could be made. This fact is sufficient reason for the great influence of the Lucianic text; for great numbers of Christians it was the only text available. The lack of dependable exemplars also will explain Lucian's apparent willingness to make changes from the earlier forms and to draw upon Latin sources in doubtful places. The great textual puzzle D (Codex Bezae) becomes more readily understandable if the presumption is entertained that it is the product of necessity for a Greek Bible in one of these stripped areas, which could be produced only by translation from a Latin manuscript, the only manuscript left by the destroyers, supplemented by the retranslator's memory of the Greek which he knew intimately but not always remembered exactly. If this is supposed to occur in some Syrian church, D becomes a quite reasonable text, for most of its peculiarities are readily explainable if it is a retranslation. Cf. Rendel Harris, *A Study of Codex Bezae*, p. 34: "We have a crucial case by which we show that to some extent the western text has latinized, though how far that influence extended is a great problem." Foakes-Jackson and Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity* III, p. ixii: "This latinizing influence has produced a far-reaching effect on the Greek text, the precise range of which is difficult to determine."

the known facts, and does make explicable the reason for the appearance of the *συστρέφω* in the oldest Greeks and the appearance of the *ἀναστρέφω* in the later ones. And it also indicates, what is obviously the case, that by the time of the third or fourth generation of Christians the story of the expedition up to Jerusalem with the multitudes running up into the thousands, with its carefully planned fulfillment of the Messianic prophecies and its attempt by force to take possession of the Temple, to dispossess the Jewish government and to place at the head of the Jewish nation Jesus, who as the Messiah would bring in the Messianic kingdom, had vanished from the minds of the believers,¹³ to remain hidden in the books, though in plain sight, for eighteen hundred years. And it leaves us full justification for accepting the reading of *συστρέφω* already given general credence by the authority of all our greatest modern textual critics, with this unavoidable corollary when taken with Mark 9:30: that the author of Matthew meant to indicate that Jesus and his followers engaged in Galilee in gathering together a group with a secret political and semi-military purpose savoring of conspiracy, a meaning which is only partially expressed by the best word yet suggested—Moffatt's "mustering."¹⁴

The peculiarities of the texts of Hesychius and Lucian, both of which are criticised by Jerome, probably had their origin in this fact that they were the product of necessity, and retained the limitations incident to the lack of exemplars, just as the mixed text of W is most easily explained by the necessity imposed upon its compilers of using various partial texts as exemplars. Sanders, *The Washington Manuscript of the Four Gospels*, 139.

¹³Cf. Zumpt, *Geburtsjahr Christi*, p. 189 N. (quoted by Schürer I, ii, p. 139): "The Church Fathers generally are wanting in all historical sense in the stating of the Gospel narrative."

¹⁴Keim (*Jesus of Nazara* English Translation, IV, 303, note) who is among the very few modern commentators who have sensed the difficulty and the importance of the textual problem presented by this passage, approves the *συστρέφω* reading but his approach is dominated by the preconception that a "gathering together" is not possible. "As we cannot reasonably (Jesus was chiefly at Paneas) talk about a collecting together, a sojourning, or a going up and down in Galilee, the word may at any rate—and the second announcement of the Passion best harmonizes with this—be translated *to turn about*,

Among this group were the women mentioned later, who had been a part of his company earlier in the year, but who must have been left behind when he sought seclusion in Tyre. Others who now joined him were the mother of Jesus and his brethren, and the hundred and twenty from whom were chosen Joseph Bar Sabbas and Matthiās, who had “companied with them all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and went out among them.”¹⁵ These and other Galileans in such numbers as to cause observers at a later date to identify anyone who spoke with a Galilean accent with Jesus,¹⁶ formed a body sufficiently numerous to arouse the suspicion and antagonism of the first town of Samaria through which they sought to pass,¹⁷ and to permit the withdrawal of seventy messengers to carry before them into Perea the advance announcement of their coming; and were added to continuously as they passed along the Jordan down towards Jericho.

and then is the more difficult reading (The simple word often in Matthew vii, 6, xvi, 23, xviii, 3) If this be correct, then the author by one word expresses the meaning that the return journey had been commenced, and that it was completed in Galilee (instead of the country east of the Jordan).” The trouble with this suggestion is that there is no instance in either N. T. or LXX where *συστρέφω* is thus used as an equivalent of *στρέφω*. Keim’s difficulty arises from the fact that, having no notion of the Messianic expedition, he eliminates the real meaning of the word before he begins his elucidation.

¹⁵Acts 1:15, 21-23.

¹⁶Matt. 26:73. The participators in the ecstasy on the day of Pentecost apparently were all Galileans, therefore must have been part of this company. Acts 2:7. Apparently the group had grown into a body of many thousands before it reached the city. Matt. 19:12; Luke 12:1, 14:25. Eisler, *Jesus the Messiah*, p. 481, 370n¹, thinks it was originally about 150, and grew to 2000.

¹⁷Luke 9:51-53; 17:11. See *infra*, p. 78n^{1a}.

V

“And they that followed were afraid”

The first sentence of Mark 10:32 King James version reads:

“And they were in the way going up to Jerusalem; and Jesus went before them: and they were amazed: and as they followed, they were afraid.”

The meaning contained in this is identical with that found in the varying language of the previous great translators. Wyckliffe, for example, has

“And thei werun in the wey goyng up to Ierusalem. And Ihesus wente befor hem: and thei wondriden and foloweden and dreden.”

The Cranmer Bible is identical with Wyckliffe except that for Wyckliffe’s

“Thei wondriden”

he substitutes

“And they were amased.”

Tyndale brings in almost the exact language subsequently used in the authorized version as follows:

“And they were in the waye goying up to Ierusalem and Ihesus went before them: and they were amased, and as they folowed, they were afrayde.”

The Geneva Bible adopted Tyndale’s language exactly. The Rheims Bible is very closely similar:

“And they were in the way going up to Ierusalem: and Iesus went before them and they were astonid, and following were afraid.”

The meaning of all these slightly varied translations is evident and identical. Jesus and the Twelve were on their way to Jerusalem with Jesus going before the Twelve while the Twelve followed, amazed and afraid. This idea remained authoritative for this particular incident for all English readers until the Revised Version appeared in 1881. Then this verse took the following form:

“And they were on the way, going up to Jerusalem: and Jesus

was going before them: and they were amazed; and they that followed were afraid."

This is essentially followed by Goodspeed,

"As they went on their way up to Jerusalem, Jesus walked ahead of them, and they were in dismay, and those who still followed were afraid."

And by Moffatt:

"They were on the way up to Jerusalem, Jesus walking in front of them; the disciples were in dismay, and the company who followed were afraid."¹

Here we have an essentially different situation. As before, they were going to Jerusalem; but where in the previous translation there had been only two elements,—Jesus and the following Twelve,—we have here a third element. They,—evidently still the Twelve,—were amazed;² and in addition those that followed them were afraid. The amazement was characteristic of the Twelve and the fear was characteristic of the different group, which followed.

These varying translations immediately become important to the thesis in hand. The revised version translation evidently gives vital support to the conclusion that instead of only Jesus

¹Neither Goodspeed nor Moffatt is as faithful to the Greek as is the Revised Version, and each introduces a variation which changes the basic meaning slightly, but they agree in the essential matter discussed herein.

²*Εθαμβοῦντο* is not adequately expressed by "amazed" which R. V. carries over from the older versions. The word occurs only three times in the best texts of the New Testament, Mark 1:27 and 10:24 in addition to the present instance. In the two earlier cases it is well rendered by "amazed," though both instances carry a broader meaning than is usually given to the word in modern usage. But in Acts 9:6 included in T. R. and A. V. though omitted from R. V. and the modern editions of the Greek N. T., *θαμβῶν* is used as a correlative with *τρέμων* and evidently carries with it the meaning of apprehension and fear. And in the Septuagint where it is used frequently, it always carries the same meaning. E. g. I Sam. 14:15, II Sam. 22:5, II K. 7:15, Dan. 8:17. Goodspeed and Moffatt are more accurate in translating "were in dismay," though even that might be improved by "were deeply apprehensive." Wrede, *das Messiasgeheimnis* p. 275: "Denn ein *θαμβεῖσθαι* über etwas Schreckenerregendes, wie der Zug nach Jerusalem ist, ist von Furcht nicht weit entfernt." "For a *θαμβεῖσθαι* because of something terrifying, as the march upon Jerusalem is, is not far removed from fear."

and the Twelve in this procession to Jerusalem there was beside Jesus and the Twelve another group of people who were sufficiently attached to be known as followers: and sufficiently advised as to what was going on to be afraid for some reason, in common with the Twelve.

Examining the texts to determine the reason for these varied translations we find that the Textus Receptus, which was the Greek lying behind all the translations up to and including the authorized version of 1611, reads as follows:

Ἦσαν δὲ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἀναβαίνοντες εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα· καὶ ἦν προάγων αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, καὶ ἐθαμβοῦντο καὶ ἀκολουθοῦντες ἐφοβοῦντο.

All the early critical editions, Lachmann, Mill, Scholz and Griesbach and Tischendorf's early editions, retain the same reading. But beginning with Tregelles, who was the first to utilize \aleph and B, we find the last three words of this Greek sentence substituted by the following: οἱ δὲ ἀκολουθοῦντες ἐφοβοῦντο. From that time on all critical editions, including Tischendorf's eighth edition, Westcott and Hort, the revisers' text, Nestle and Von Soden, agree in the Tregelles rendering, οἱ δὲ ἀκολουθοῦντες ἐφοβοῦντο. On this sentence there is no longer any difference of opinion; the text is universally recognized to be correctly represented by \aleph B and to be correctly translated by the Revised Version.

The significance of this changed translation and its text, however, has not yet worked its way into the consciousness of students of the life of Jesus. The change of the elements of the Jesus group from two to three is obvious; but the idea of a section of attached followers in addition to the Twelve does not fit into what is still the current notion of the nature of the trip, so the contradiction, though sometimes recognized, is not yet solved.

Swete, for example, (*The Gospel according to Mark* p.

233) recognizes the significance of the language, but describes the situation thus:

"The Lord walked in advance of the Twelve with a solemnity and determination which foreboded danger. His manner struck awe in the minds of the Twelve who were beginning at length to anticipate an impending disaster; whilst the rest of the company, the crowd who usually hung upon the Lord's footsteps, or his fellow travelers on their way to the Passover, were conscious of a vague fear. There was risk of a real panic, and the Lord therefore checks his course until the Twelve have come up to him."

This interpretation very obviously fails to give full effect to οἱ δὲ ἀκολουθοῦντες. "Those who followed" does not find full equivalent in "fellow travelers," or "the crowd who usually hung upon the Lord's footsteps." As pointed out by Turner, *infra*, προάγων finds a contrasting correlative in οἱ δὲ ἀκολουθοῦντες and requires the latter to be translated by "those who followed" or "the followers."

Neither is it legitimate to translate ἐφοβοῦντο as "a vague fear." The word signifies a definite attitude of fear, of apprehension of danger. The sentence is to be taken as a whole; the same factors which caused the amazement or, more accurately, the deep apprehension, of the Twelve, caused the positive fear of those who followed. All were affected by the dangers which confronted them in their early arrival at the capital city, where the authorities were practically certain to be hostile to them. A common understanding of conditions led to a mental attitude very similar. The insufficiency of Swete's elucidation is evident.

Turner (*The Study of the New Testament*, Page 62) recognizes the difficulty much more clearly than Swete but suggests a much more violent solution:

"There is a serious difficulty in the exegesis of these verses as they stand. It is ordinarily supposed that mention is made of our Lord, of the Twelve, and of a vague mass of followers. But there are two objections, both of them decisive, to such an interpretation. On the one hand, the whole story of the ascent to Jerusalem and the

arrival there seems to imply that it was only the few disciples whom He was educating in closest intimacy who now made up His company: on the other hand, the verbs *προάγειν* and *ἀκολουθεῖν* are in this Gospel strictly correlative, as in xi, 9, οἱ προάγοντες καὶ οἱ ἀκολουθοῦντες, and so xiv 28 (xvi 7) *προάξω ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν* means of course 'I will precede' and you shall follow. Οἱ δὲ ἀκολουθοῦντες can therefore, only refer back to *προάγων* and must mean 'Jesus went before them and they (the disciples) followed.' So far all is clear: but *ἐθαμβοῦντο* is unexplained, unless we accept a suggestion made some years ago, but never, I believe put into print, and suppose that the Evangelist wrote *ἐθαμβεῖτο*. If it was the Master on whom, in anticipation of Gethsemane (xiv 33), this shuddering awe fell, we can understand how He wished to be alone, and how the disciples, as they followed at a little distance, 'were afraid.'"

This solution solves merely by denying entirely the third element in the group and offering to repeat the age-old process of changing the Greek to correspond with the necessity of the preconceived notion. In other words Dr. Turner thinks that since it was impossible that there could have been a company of followers, the Greek, which clearly indicates such a group, must be wrong.

Quite similar in its even greater willingness to do violence to a text incomprehensible in the light of a preconceived notion of the situation, is the proposal of Wrede (*Das Messiasgeheimnis*, p. 96) :

"It seems to me not too bold to propose an emendation here. The *καὶ ἐθαμβοῦντο* is to be eliminated; it may also be conceivable that the text originally read:

'Jesus was going before, but they as they followed, went in amazement (*ἐθαμβοῦντο* instead of *ἐφοβοῦντο*).' In any event the text as it stands is not endurable.

But even if we keep it, the essential thing is clear. In any event the thought lies to the front that the disciples were seized with amazement or bewilderment, because they saw Jesus marching before them on the way to Jerusalem. That can be no unimportant observation. Undoubtedly, since the prophecy follows, it is evident that here memory of a genuine scene does not lie at bottom. Should the literally conceived, quite unimportant circumstances of the scene be historical, when its true content—precisely the prophecy—is unhistorical?"

For Wrede, as for Turner, the situation created by the definitely authentic text is incomprehensible in the light of his pre-

conception of Jesus' purpose and method in going to Jerusalem. Wrede, deeply attached to his own thesis, that the secret of the suffering Messiah is the key to unlock all the other Gospel secrets, has no need for the organized crowd of followers and is perfectly willing either to mar the text, or to fall back on the ancient solution eliminated by the results of modern textual criticism, or even to throw out the whole difficult incident as unhistorical.³

This method of solution proposed by Wrede and Dr. Turner sheds clear light upon the probable process by which the variation in the text itself came to pass. There is no longer any doubt

³Cf. Loisy, *Les Evangiles Synoptiques*, p. 232: "Si les disciples et l'entourage de Jesus craignent, c'est parce qu'ils ont le sentiment du danger auquel le Sauveur s'expose en allant à Jerusalem. Toujours est-il que les disciples, ne sachant pas trop ce qui va se passer, redoutent l'avenir mysterieux dont ils s'approchent maintenant. Le Sauveur, dans la pleine assurance de sa mission, marchait a leur tete. C'est lui qui les emmene à Jerusalem, et l'on dirait qu'ils ne le suivent qu' à regret. En dehors des disciples, il y avait un assez grand nombre de personnes qui s'etaient attachies aux pas de Jesus pour l'entendre, car on voit tres bien qu'il ne s'agit pas d'une caravane de pelerins, et qui partageaient plus ou moins l'inquietude de ses disciples. Peut-etre ces gens se faisaientils une idee plus juste du peril que Jesus affrontait, et n'en etaient-ils que plus effrayers.—Matthieu et Luc auront omis ces details, dont ils ne voyaient pas la portée, et dont ils etaient plutot choqués." "If the disciples and the attendants of Jesus were afraid, it is because they appreciated the danger to which the Savior was exposing himself in going to Jerusalem. The disciples, not understanding what was coming to pass, dreaded the mysterious future which they were then approaching. The Savior, in the full assurance of his mission, marched at their head. It was he who was leading them to Jerusalem, and one would say that they did not follow except with regret. Apart from the disciples there was a quite large number of persons who were attached to the steps of Jesus to listen to him, for one sees quite well that it did not act as a caravan of pilgrims, and who participated more or less in the uneasiness of his disciples. Perhaps these people had a more accurate idea of the peril which Jesus confronted, and were therefore more dismayed." This idea is very similar to Swete's notion of a "crowd which usually hung upon the Lord's footsteps," and is similarly inadequate to express the relation of leader and follower which is involved in the ἡν προάγων αὐτοὺς and the οἱ δὲ ἀκολουθοῦντες. Montefiore (*The Synoptic Gospels*, I 249) also thinks that "one must assume that in addition to the Twelve there were others who accompanied Jesus upon his fateful path," though he seems to favor Bartlett's approval of Dr. Turner's attempt at emendation.

as to what the original text must have read. The decision of our modern scholars is based upon the reading of \aleph B C L, 1 and others. Textus Receptus is based upon A, part of the old Latin, the Vulgate, the Syriac. The weight of authority is overwhelming in favor of the reading now accepted.

In such a search for the process by which the change took place, a look at the Old Latin is especially interesting and instructive. In the essential clause, *k* reads:

"Fuerunt autem in via ascendentes Hiersolima et admirabantur qui sequebantur illum."

q reads:

"Erant autem in via ascendentes Hierosolyma et praecedebat illos Ihesus et pavebant et sequentes timebant."

ff however, reads for the second part of the sentence:

"Et praecedebat illos Ihesus et pavebant sequentes."

b shortens it still more, giving this part of the sentence:

"et pracedebat eos Ihesus et pavebant."

c agrees with *k* and *a* with *b*.

These variations are of course additional evidence of the extraordinary carelessness and lack of fidelity to the Greek which characterize the early Latin translations. Of the entire list *q* is the only one which follows the Greek with reasonable accuracy.⁴ All the others leave out some essential element of the original text and show how completely the idea of the third element in Jesus' group had dropped out of the minds of even the very early Christians.

In *q* we have an accurate translation of the Greek, but even in this instance the necessary difference between the Latin and the Greek languages in the use of the article makes the meaning indefinite. The Latin has no article, while in the Greek the article is used very much as in English. In translating the Latin alike into English or Greek the question of whether the article

⁴Jerome in his Vulgate takes the *q* text except that he uses *stupebant* for *pavebant*. In their essential features *q* and Vulgate are identical.

is to be used or not must be determined by inference; sometimes it cannot be answered positively. "*Et sequentes timebant*" consequently can be translated in either of two ways, depending on whether the article is supplied or not, as "*sequentes*" could in this connection be either adjective or pronominal. In the former case it would be translated:

"as they followed they were afraid."

and would be represented in Greek by the equivalent καὶ ἀκολουθοῦντες ἐφοβοῦντο. In the second case it would be translated

"those who followed were afraid,"

and would be the equivalent of οἱ δὲ ἀκολουθοῦντες ἐφοβοῦντο. In the first instance "*sequentes*" as an adjective would be descriptive of the (understood) subject of *pavebant*; in the second instance "*sequentes*" as a pronominal would be the subject of "*timebant*."

Now, observing that *ff* and *c*, though eliminating a part of the sentence, in this particular clause agree with *q*, in the use of "*sequentes*," it becomes easy to see that this was the most usual form of the Latin text, and how Lucian in making his revision could have inserted a change of the ancient Greek texts which prevailed for more than fifteen hundred years thereafter. As the idea that a group of closely attached followers accompanied Jesus and the Twelve had been entirely lost among the Christians of that time, Lucian of course included, it was impossible for Lucian to interpret the three-section Greek into his two-section idea. So he used the method of Dr. Turner and Wrede. Remembering the Latin form, or more likely having it before him in the *q* form, he turned its familiar meaning into its Greek equivalent by the simple device of dropping the article which stood in the older texts, and which upon his view of the meaning, must have appeared to be an unjustified inser-

tion. Elimination of the article forced the substitution of *kai* for *de*, no longer usable.

To return to the meaning of the passage, it is obvious that giving the correct text its normal meaning, recognizing in this group which was moving into Jerusalem three elements, the leader Jesus, the Twelve and the great mass of followers, eliminates all the difficulties.⁵ It is not only easy to believe, but entirely impossible to doubt that as this group, embarked upon a mission of intense importance and of the highest personal hazard, approached their object, where they were sure to meet the great test within the next two or three days, a great apprehension fell upon them. The feeling was not any vague awe or indefinite fear, but the very definite and deep apprehension of personal danger which overhung them as they prepared to enter the capital of their nation and to confront its authorities with a proclamation of the coming Kingdom, a kingdom which was to replace the present one and all connected with it. Quite justly the Twelve were oppressed with apprehension, as they contemplated the approaching collision, and those who followed, less com-

⁵Burkitt, *Jesus Christ*, pp. 36, 37, adds yet another element, making four: Jesus, the Twelve, the disciples "as distinct from what Mark calls the multitude," and the multitude itself. These disciples other than the Twelve he thinks were relatively few in number, but "enough when collected together to make noticeable the entry of their Master into Jerusalem and, what is more important, to back up his doings in the Temple Courts. * * * The existence of this class must be remembered, to explain the first doings of Jesus in Jerusalem and the attitude of the authorities there to him." But this distinction is entirely superfluous. Mark was repeating Peter, who drew a sharp distinction between the Twelve and the other followers, who were to him "the multitude." And the number necessary to explain the events in Jerusalem mentioned by Burkitt could not have been small. No handful could have "stirred all Jerusalem" or effected the expulsion of the merchants, bankers and officials from the Temple. Mark uses the terms "the disciples" and "the Twelve" practically interchangeably. The multitude, which when it first appears in his story, was the mass of listeners who thronged about him, had by this time become a mass of followers, varying in attachment from light and temporary allegiance which was shattered by the failure to hold the Temple to the definite, permanent group who continued together after the crucifixion, and became the one hundred and twenty who elected Matthias as recorded in Acts 1, 15-26.

pletely dominated by the magnificent confidence of their leader, were full of the fear from which Jesus had from time to time sought to free them. (Luke 12:4-5; 32; Mark 8:35-38). It is evidently impossible that anyone not absolutely integrated with the expedition itself could have participated in such a feeling of dread, just as it was the most natural thing in the world that everyone connected with it must have had it in some degree. And such a touch as this, with its profound conformity with the facts of human nature at the same time that it raises insuperable contradictions with notions purely religious in the traditional sense, confirms our confidence in the solid historical trustworthiness of the synoptic story, instead of justifying a doubt such as that expressed by Wrede.

VI

JESUS, ROME AND THE PHARISEES

The essence of the Messianic hope was the expectation that foreign control would be removed from Israel. Indeed the whole Messianic complex grew out of the resistance of a people who relied firmly upon the especial care of their divinity against the unfavorable and almost unendurable conditions produced by a domination which they were unable to shake off. Every one who hoped for Messiah hoped that he should redeem Israel, that is, that he would restore the Kingdom.

The Messianic ideas of Jesus must have carried in them some provision for the removal of the control of Rome, the power against which the Messianic faith was at that time directed, otherwise he could not have functioned as a Messianic leader.

A recent very penetrating study¹ emphasizes the fact that the public utterances of Jesus taught nonresistance as the proper attitude towards the great empire under which his Jewish hearers writhed. This view is correct so far as it goes, but it does not go far enough. Such an idea and such teaching do not complete the attitude of Jesus towards this, the controlling problem of his day and his life. That he did teach nonresistance towards Rome is incontrovertible; Pilate determined that fact when Jesus was on trial before him. But this did not exhaust Jesus' attitude toward this matter.

Attempted solutions of this problem from the historical point of view, have taken two general directions. One has its chief exponent in Schweitzer, who finds the total explanation in

¹Simkhovitch, *Toward the Understanding of Jesus*, in particular chapters 5 and 6.

the eschatological outlook of Jesus. The other is well represented by Simkhovitch and his type; these would make Jesus a practical leader of his people, who resisted the powerful popular tendency toward violence and found a solution of their problems in a system of ethics, especially in the purely intellectual answer of nonresistance.² Both are correct to a degree and both are wrong, for each ignores the truth contained in the other view.

The activity of Jesus had its origin in a purely eschatological outlook. This view looked forward to a time when God should come in person and do for his people the work which they could not do for themselves. The prophets before Jesus had worked out the details of a great epochal event in which by miraculous and terrible means God would wipe out of his world all those things which were offensive to him, chief of which would be that nation which was oppressing his chosen people. Over and over the prophets had foretold this great event and beyond doubt it was this event which he had in mind when he took up the burden of John's message to preach that the Kingdom of Heaven was at hand. The responsibility of announcing this event and of preparing Israel for it appears to be what he undertook when he became convinced that he was the "beloved son" at the fords of Jordan.³

Whether the change occurred as a result of the resistance which he met both from the government of Herod and from the representatives of the Jewish government at Jerusalem, and the unexpected postponement of the event which he had been

²Foakes-Jackson and Lake (*The Beginnings of Christianity*, I, 291) also sense the idea of non-resistance to Rome only, as an essential element in Jesus' teaching: "The true answer is * * * to be found * * * in accentuating the fact that the 'non-resistant' teaching in the Sermon on the Mount deals with the line of conduct to be observed towards foreign oppressors and violence from without."

³Harlow, *Jesus the Man*, Chapter III and note.

preaching, it is impossible to say,⁴ but following Caesarea Philippi Jesus' outlook ceased to be entirely eschatological. No longer did it seem to him possible to wait quietly for God to fulfill his times and his promises, but he grasped the necessity of action upon his own part. He now realized that he must go to Jerusalem and replace the evil administrators of the nation, whose failure to conform to the law was causing the postponement of the Day of the Lord. He admitted not only to the Twelve, but to himself, that he was Messiah in every sense, and must function as such, and he deliberately set himself to become the head of his nation. That he taught meanwhile the only way of present safety for his people, the necessity of nonresistance to the overwhelming power which oppressed them, is apparent, but it is also apparent that he did not abandon his eschatological expectations; expressions of these were repeated again and again during the last week of his life.

The problem of Rome, then, was left where it was when he began his ministry. As he saw it the fulfillment of the King-

⁴Cf. Harlow, *Jesus the Man*, Chapter X. That much discussed passage, Matt. 11:12, is an indication of his feeling about the violent opposition to the movement begun by John, which he had made his own: "From the days of John the Baptist until now, the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence and men of violence take it by force." (R. V.) This translation does not fully express the meaning of ἀρπάζουσιν. The sentence might be rendered: "From the days of John the Baptist until now the kingdom of heaven suffers violence; and violent men snatch it away by force." That is, beginning with the arrest of John the Baptist, violent men—Herod and his servants, and the Jerusalem Pharisees,—have used violence on every manifestation of the coming kingdom, have prevented it from coming in, have snatched it like harpies, from those who have accepted it, and would have entered into it. (Matt. 23:13)—This verse does not belong in its present location. Luke's parallel passage is placed in entirely different context and time. In Matthew it is not entirely consecutive, for it is placed in the time of John's own life, is part of a discourse arising from a question of John himself, still alive; and the expression "from the days of John the Baptist until now" is therefore really meaningless. The statement was probably made at a later time, was available to the author of Matthew and to Luke as an isolated saying, and is consequently misplaced by both. It could well express Jesus' own idea as to why the kingdom failed to come in as he first expected, and could be one of the reasons he gave to himself and others why he must himself take action to bring the kingdom into being.

dom would remove Rome, would restore Israel. God alone could do that, and it was foolish for the weakened Jews to attempt to interpose their feeble efforts to produce this effect before God was ready for it. The practical fact was that before this new kingdom could come, Israel itself must be made fit. The prophets had taught that when Israel fulfilled the law, Messiah would come. He, therefore, in order to remove the Roman control, sought to bring the nation into the condition which it must acquire before God would redeem his promise. This he sought to accomplish first by preaching the doctrine of personal righteousness; next by attempting to remove from control of the affairs of the nation, those unrighteous persons whose life and whose works stood in the way of the fulfillment of the promise. "Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no wise see the Kingdom of Heaven." But when this righteousness was secured in the personal lives of his followers and by such conduct of the affairs of Israel that it might meet with divine approval, by a cleansed Temple, by a complete national submission to the will of God, then should follow that hoped for divine event which should wipe out the oppressor and bring in the golden day of the Messiah.

This then seems to have been the attitude of Jesus towards Rome, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's." "Resist not the evil⁵ thing." Submit to its exaction: "If he will take away thy cloak give him thy coat also." "If he will compel thee

⁵The τῷ πονηρῷ of Matt. 5:39 and τοῦ πονηροῦ of 6:13 are best understood as forms of τὸ πονηρόν, the evil *thing*, the wicked foreign government, rather than as parts of ὁ πονηρός, the evil *one*, the devil. Matt. 5:39, in particular, comes in the midst of a discussion of the proper way to deal with the Roman oppressors. Matt. 6:13 is a prayer for escape: "lead us not into bitter trial, but deliver us from the evil thing." They were not in the hands of the devil; they were in the hands of Rome and from Rome they sought to be delivered. Similarly in the parable of the tares, Matt. 13:24-30 and its interpretation, 13:37-43, τὰ ζιζάνια, οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ πονηροῦ, are most likely the sons

to go one mile, go with him two." But at the same time, render "unto God the things that are God's" and he will "deliver us from the evil thing." Fulfill God's law, make his house and his nation fit for him, and in due time he will come and take care of the evil which now overshadows the nation.*

The correlative of this attitude towards Rome was his attitude towards the Pharisees and scribes and other Jewish authorities. Against these was directed the resistance which he wisely counselled his followers not to use towards all-powerful Rome. They were those who had abused their trust, the husbandmen who had refused their lord his fruits, invited guests who had refused to come to the feast, the enemies who would not that he should reign over them. They, by their violent abuses, their unwillingness to conform to the spirit of the law, were preventing the coming of the promised Kingdom. The three parables mentioned show clearly how he reacted toward them. "These mine enemies that would not that I should reign over them, bring hither and slay them before me." "He will come and destroy those husbandmen, and will give the vineyard unto others." "The king was wroth; and he sent his armies and destroyed those murderers and burned their city." The bitterness towards the ruling elements in Jerusalem which was manifest in John the Baptist and was probably characteristic of much of the common population, was shared by Jesus.

Against these his expedition was directed. As Messiah he

of the evil thing, the servants of Rome, the opposite of the sons of the kingdom, and the parable is a repetition of his teaching of non-resistance to the oppressors, with whom God will deal adequately in the great day of his coming. Quite evidently τοῦ πονηροῦ of 13:38 and ὁ διάβολος of 13:39 are not the same person.

*M. Goguel expresses the same view of Jesus' attitude towards Rome; as quoted by C. G. Montefiore, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, Hibbert Journal, Jan. 1932, p. 305: "Ce sont là, pour Jésus, des choses qui disparaîtront d'elles mêmes quand Dieu établira son règne." "For Jesus there are certain things which will automatically disappear when God shall establish his Kingdom."

sought to replace them and their misrule by his own authority and a direction which would speedily bring in the promised Kingdom. Against them he did not hesitate to use the violence which he advised not to be used against Rome.* Though his followers were practically unarmed, probably the result of his eschatological expectations and his confidence that God would furnish all the force necessary, at the crucial moment he would have been willing to appeal to the sword had he received suitable response from his followers.⁶ In other words, he came into Jerusalem leading a revolution, not against Rome, but against the authorities of his own nation.⁷

This purpose and his realization of its danger lay behind those repeated warnings to his followers that he must meet the antagonism of the elders and chief priests and scribes, and his anticipation that he must suffer at their hands. Its attempted realization and its temporary success caused the unrelenting hatred of those whom he sought to dispossess, and produced the strange phenomenon of the surrender of a Messianic leader to Rome by his own nation. Realization that Jesus taught submis-

*Cf. Kirsopp Lake, *Landmarks of Early Christianity*, p. 25: "the 'non-resistant' teaching in the Sermon on the Mount deals with the line of conduct to be observed towards foreign oppressors and violence from without. The sacerdotal money-changers and sellers of doves in the Temple were not the 'oppressors of Israel.' Israel was called on to suffer under Roman rule, and the righteous to endure violence at the hands of the wicked for that was the will of God, who in his own good time would shorten the evil days. But the manipulation of the sacrificial system as a means of plundering the pious was a sin of Israel itself, against which protest and force were justified."

⁶Luke 22:35-38.

⁷Schweitzer (*The Mystery of the Kingdom of God*, 86) holds such a view is impossible: "Jesus, however, must have thought either eschatologically or uneschatologically, but not both together." Yet it is obvious that if he thought eschatologically at all he must have thought both eschatologically and uneschatologically, for much of his teaching was actually practical and ethical, and much of his life necessarily conformed to practical considerations. The complex of the two was exactly what occurred: he acted practically, and waited confidently for the fulfillment of his eschatological expectations as a completion of the whole problem.

sion to Rome at the same time that he was engaged in struggle with the Jerusalem leaders who were personally so hateful to Pilate, gave him that officer's approval and a kindly interest that would have saved him had the unexpected complication with Herod not intervened.

That this purpose was shared to any substantial extent by his followers, or even understood by them, is doubtful in the extreme. So far as can be guessed from the limited references on this point, the chief expectation of the crowd which accompanied him was the usual Messianic expectation, that the hated Roman control was immediately to be replaced by the Kingdom of God in a material sense.⁸ Not one of them seemed to comprehend his oft repeated warning that conflict with the Jerusalem authorities was unavoidable. Far along in the expedition the Twelve themselves were eagerly engaged in debate over who would rank highest in the new kingdom, these discussions at times becoming almost if not quite acrimonious. Insight into the purposes and understanding of the crowd is too meager to permit definiteness of statement, but there is every reason to believe that the multitudes which rallied to him on the way down the valley of the Jordan and which marched with him into Jerusalem to the chant "Blessed is the kingdom that cometh, the kingdom of our father David," hoping that "it was he that should redeem Israel," confidently expected that through him the Roman was to be expelled and that he was immediately to become the head of the restored kingdom of the Jews.

Significant in this connection is the fact that we hear no more of the crowds following him after the day of the debate in the Temple concerning the tribute. It is generally accepted

⁸Note particularly such passages as Matt. 20:20-22; Luke 24:19-21. It is worthy of note that one of the Twelve was Simon the Zealot, evidently one of those extremists who were willing to go to any length to destroy Roman domination, so frequently and fully described by Josephus. It is altogether unlikely that he was the only one of that type in the crowd.

that his answer to that crafty inquiry of the emissaries of Herod, which was obviously intended either to embroil him with the Roman governor or to break his influence with the people, succeeded in avoiding both dangers, but succeeding events add greatly to the natural probability that it was in fact the rock upon which his attempt broke. Even though, as Luke says, the Herodians and Pharisees were "not able to take hold of the saying before the people" immediately as they had expected, it is difficult to see how such a crowd could have been held by any leader who openly counselled the payment of the tribute, no matter by what trick of speech. Disappointment at such an attitude goes far toward explanation of the revulsion of feeling which caused the betrayal by Judas, and of the bitterness of the Jerusalem mob the next day. His followers must have felt betrayed when he apparently counselled submission to that power, for the removal of which they had undergone the hardship and the personal danger of such an expedition. Though his crowd, either by supporting action or by the sheer threat of its numbers, must have aided in his attack on the Temple occupants, it is not unlikely that he alone understood the unavoidable necessity of his contest with the Jewish authorities, the importance of their removal from control in order that the nation might return to God and the expected kingdom thus come in, and the necessity of non-resistance to Rome while these things were coming to pass and until that day and that hour, unknown even to the angels in heaven, when God's time should be utterly fulfilled.⁹

⁹This discussion ignores the view originated by Reimarus and last worked out fully by Eisler, *The Messiah Jesus and John the Baptist according to Flavius Josephus, etc.*, that Jesus' movement upon Jerusalem was a direct attempt against Rome itself. The evidence offered in support of that view is entirely insufficient, and is completely neutralized by the reply to the tribute question in the Temple. No leader of an attack upon Rome could possibly have made such a reply. The idea that Jesus expected the *ultimate* elimination of Rome is sound, is fundamental, and Reimarus should be accepted to that extent. Cf. Wellhausen, *Einleitung*, 2d Ed., p. 83: Bizu einum gewissen Grade könnte

Reimarus Recht haben." "Up to a certain point Reimarus may be right." That point is certainly far this side of an armed attempt against Rome. Pilate tried Jesus on that charge and with all the facts before the court found him innocent; certainly no one in recent centuries has had access to additional information which would justify a reversal of Pilate. The view of Wellhausen in his later years (1912) is very close to that of this chapter. *Einleitung*, 2d Ed., pp. 82-83: "Although Jesus was first glorified into the Christian Messiah as a consequence of the Crucifixion and Resurrection, nevertheless in his lifetime he could have been held by Peter and the others to have been the Jewish Messiah, and undeniably that occurred. * * * One has no right to consider the mocking homage of the soldiery a fabrication, or to doubt that the charge pursuant to which Pilate carried out the sentence of death, is correctly expressed by 'The King of the Jews.' Of the Palms incident at least this much is certain, that the Galilean escort of Jesus enthusiastically acclaimed him on the Mount of Olives in the expectation that he would now establish the kingdom of David. How he himself responded to that is difficult to determine. He permitted himself in Jerusalem to be addressed by his disciples as Teacher and not as Lord. At the hearing before the Sanhedrin and before Pilate his silence was impressive; if he secretly knew himself as actually Messiah, he did it nevertheless not freely and frankly, and doubts that it completely occurred cannot be suppressed. The question of the Jewish officers concerning his authority he adroitly and carefully evaded. Yet he must have given his enemies some tangible occasion for the complaint before Pilate. True, he planned no uprising against the Romans, he had no purpose to free his people from the foreign domination; but from the yoke of the Priest and the Scribe—yes. For this purpose he proceeded perhaps not solely as a teacher, but also as an agitator, and within himself claimed for himself the messianic right to rule, or at least he created the appearance that he did. At the cleansing of the Temple he did not shrink from the use of force; his disciples had weapons and sought to use them when they were surprised. These traces are still contained in the gospel narrative, others may have been obliterated." Some of them are emphasized in this study.

VII

'ΑΛΛ' οὐ δὲ Ἡρώδης.

The idea that Jesus was the Lamb of God, the blameless sacrifice, the innocent substitute who, without sin in himself, took upon himself the iniquities of all men, necessarily precludes any idea of actual guilt upon his part; and inference has led the Christian world to assume that he not only could not possibly have been guilty of any actual violation of the law, but was never legally condemned by any governmental authority. This assumption has led to a serious misinterpretation of the relation which Herod Antipas bore to the trial and execution of Jesus, and even to a direct mistranslation of the Greek in the story of his final hearing before Herod and Pilate.

The classic understanding of the story as told in the first twenty-five verses of the twenty-third chapter of Luke is as follows: The chief priests carried Jesus before Pilate, the Roman governor, accusing him of offenses against the Roman law. After examining him, Pilate announced that he was guilty of none of the things with which he was charged. The persistence of the priests in their accusation that he was misleading the people from Galilee to Jerusalem, called the attention of Pilate to the fact that Jesus was a Galilean and he immediately sent him to Herod, who as the tetrarch of Galilee had jurisdiction of all offenses committed in Galilee and who happened to be in Jerusalem. With his accusers Jesus was taken before Herod and his officers, who after seeking to see some miracle from Jesus, made light of him as a person of no consequence, but nevertheless found him guilty of no crime and sent him back to Pilate after in mocking jest arraying him in gorgeous garments. Pilate thereupon tried anew to convince the chief priests of the innocence of Jesus, citing the action of Herod as additional evidence of

that innocence. Accordingly he offered to scourge Jesus as a concession to the Jewish leaders and then to release him as a gift to the people. The people, however, led on by the chief priests, refused to accept Jesus, demanded their own favorite, Barabbas, and made such a disturbance that Pilate was afraid not to accede to their desire and finally crucified Jesus in order to placate the crowd.

This idea misses the spirit of the whole transaction. Not only does it make of the proceedings of a Roman court a matter of no consequence, that could be set aside at will; of the Roman governor, Pilate, a weakling who was unable to resist the demands of the multitude, and who set aside his own judicial decision for no better reason than the demands of a mob that he crucify; of Herod a prince with no motive but a vulgar curiosity, who, in dealing with one of his own subjects found him innocent of wrongdoing, but nevertheless, after thus finding him innocent, cruelly abused him, made bitter sport of him, and deliberately returned him into the danger from which he had for a moment been rescued by being sent to him; of the chief priests and the Jerusalem multitude a political factor, powerful enough to overwhelm the purpose of a Roman governor, and in the very presence of a force of soldiers found many times by test ample to control Jerusalem even in turbulent times, able to compel the governor to set aside the verdict of his own court and, instead, to send an innocent man to an undeserved death. Not only does it do all these things, all of which are contrary to the known facts of human nature and of the situation as it then existed in Jerusalem, but it so misconceives the meaning of the transaction that it causes the translation of a Greek passage in a sense precisely opposite to that which the Greek itself naturally requires.

To set the matter out in convenient form, herewith follows

the translation of the first twenty-five verses of Luke 23, as given in the American Revised Version, paralleled with the same passage retranslated without the domination of the exegetical conception above set forth.

REVISED VERSION

23. 1. And the whole company of them rose up, and brought him before Pilate. 2. And they began to accuse him, saying, We found this man perverting our nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Caesar, and saying that he himself is Christ a king. 3. And Pilate asked him, saying, Art thou the king of the Jews? And he answered him and said, Thou sayest. 4. And Pilate said unto the chief priests and the multitudes, *I find no fault in this man.* 5. But they were the more urgent, saying, He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Judea, and beginning from Galilee even unto this place. 6. But when Pilate heard it, he asked whether the man were a Galilean. 7. And when he knew that he was of Herod's jurisdiction, *he sent him unto Herod*, who himself also was at Jerusalem in these days.

8. Now when Herod saw Jesus, he was exceedingly glad: for he was of a long time desirous to see him, because he had heard concerning him; and he hoped to see some miracle done by him. 9. And he *questioned him in many words*; but he answered him nothing. 10. And the chief priests and the scribes stood, vehemently accusing him. 11. *And Herod with his soldiers set him at nought, and mocked him, and arraying him in gorgeous apparel sent him back to Pilate.* 12. And Herod and Pilate became friends with each other that very day; for before they were at enmity between themselves.

PROPOSED

1. And the whole company of them rose up, and brought him before Pilate. 2. And they began to accuse him, saying, We found this man perverting our nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Caesar, and saying that he himself is Christ a king. 3. And Pilate asked him, saying, Art thou the king of the Jews? And he answered him and said, Thou sayest. 4. Pilate said unto the chief priests, and the multitudes, *"I find in this man no cause for condemnation."* 5. But they were the more urgent, saying, He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Judaea, and beginning from Galilee even unto this place. 6. But when Pilate heard it, he asked whether the man were a Galilean. 7. And when he heard that he was of Herod's jurisdiction, *he sent and delivered him into the hands of Herod*, who, himself also was in Jerusalem in those days.

8. Now when Herod saw Jesus, he was exceedingly glad; for he was of a long time desirous to see him, because he had heard concerning him; and he hoped to see some miracle done by him. 9. And he *questioned him searchingly in many words* but he answered him nothing. 10. And the chief priests and the scribes stood, vehemently accusing him. 11. *But when Herod with his officers estimated him to be of no value whatever, and had abused him, arraying him in gorgeous apparel, he sent and surrendered him back to Pilate.* 12. And Herod and Pilate became friends with each other that very day; for before they were at enmity between themselves.

13. *And Pilate called together the chief priests and the rulers and the people, 14 and said unto them, Ye brought unto me this man, as one that perverteth the people; and behold, I having examined him before you, found no fault in this man touching those things whereof ye accuse him: 15 no, nor yet Herod; for he sent him back unto us; and behold, nothing worthy of death hath been done by him. 16. I will therefore chastise him and release him. 18. But they cried out all together, saying, Away with this man, and release unto us, Barabbas: 19. one who for a certain insurrection made in the city, and for murder, was cast into prison. 20. And Pilate spake unto them again, desiring to release Jesus; 21. but they shouted, saying, Crucify, crucify him. 22. And he said unto them the third time, Why, what evil hath this man done? I have found no cause of death in him: I will therefore chastise him and release him. 23. But they were urgent with loud voices, asking that he might be crucified. And their voices prevailed. 24. And Pilate gave sentence that what they asked for should be done. 25. And he released him that for insurrection and murder had been cast into prison, whom they asked for; but Jesus he delivered up to their will.*

13. *And Pilate, when he had called together the high priests and the rulers and the populace, said to them, 14 You brought me this man as one that leadeth the people astray. And behold, I, having tried him in your presence, found in this man no cause of condemnation in those things of which you bring accusation against him. 15. But not so Herod; for he sent him back to us. And yet nothing worthy of death has been done by him; I will therefore chastise him, and release him. 18. But they cried out all together, saying, Away with this man, and release unto us, Barabbas: 19. one who for a certain insurrection made in the city, and for murder, was cast into prison. 20. And Pilate spake unto them again, desiring to release Jesus; 21. but they shouted saying, Crucify, crucify him. 22. And he said unto them the third time, Why, what evil hath this man done? I have found in him nothing justifying sentence of death. I will therefore chastise him and release him. 23. But they were urgent with loud voices, asking that he might be crucified. And their voices prevailed. 24. And Pilate gave sentence that what they asked for should be done. 25. And he released him that for insurrection and murder had been cast into prison, whom they asked for; but Jesus he delivered up to their will.*

To understand this episode it is necessary to consider Herod's attitude to Jesus throughout his movement. Herod's first contact with this Messianic outbreak was with John the Baptist, whom he arrested and put to death when the public excitement resulting from his preaching threatened to become dangerous to the existing order. Shortly after the death of John the Baptist, when all Galilee was reacting to the preaching of Jesus and to the six pairs of disciples sent out to announce

the immediate coming of the kingdom, Herod's attention was called to this new phenomenon, which was so nearly identical with what he had experienced with John that Herod thought Jesus must be John the Baptist risen from the dead. He immediately set out to capture Jesus (Luke 13:31) beyond question to put him to death, as he had put John the Baptist to death for the same cause.¹ Jesus, however, escaped him and left Galilee to go into foreign parts, outside of the jurisdiction of Herod, where he stayed until he determined to go to Jerusalem. He then proceeded secretly through Galilee, stopping at Capernaum, and quietly gathering up the Galilean adherents who were to form the nucleus of his expedition. He attempted to leave Galilee and the territory of Herod as quickly as possible by traveling down the hill road through Samaria, but was prevented from doing so in this early stage of his expedition when its numbers had not grown to be formidable, by the citizens of some Samaritan town, the name of which has been lost.^{1a} Turn-

¹Streeter, *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, p. 230, assumes the contrary. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfaenge des Christentums*, p. 110, and Wellhausen, *Einleitung* p. 40, agree with the statement in the text here.

^{1a}Possibly Sychar; this seems to be the first town large enough to make its resistance effective. If he came this far into Samaria he probably came directly south from Engannin, thus avoiding Sebaste and Shechem. Smith, *The Geography of the Holy Land*, p. 374. Dalman, *Orte und Wege Jesu*, p. 226. In such case he returned to the Roman road leading down Wady Fara and crossed Jordan a short distance south of where the river Jabbok empties into it. If, however, as suggested on page 55, in accord with Luke 17:11, the village was near the border between Galilee and Samaria, the first Samaritan village approached, it would be Ginaea (Josephus, Wars, III, iii, 4), also known as Engannim, and the road traveled was across Mount Gilboa to Bethshean, just west of Jordan, then down the west side of Jordan to a junction with the Roman road, crossing Jordan at the point indicated above. Dalman, *op. cit.*, p. 224. It was also possible to cross at the fords about three miles east of Bethshean and come down the east side of Jordan from that point. The interruption added at least fifty miles and more than doubled the time to Jerusalem. Josephus—*Vita*, 269, states that it required three days from the beginning of Samaria to Jerusalem; it must have required more than a week by the road Jesus and his followers were required to take, and they arrived three or four days later than their original plans. Though we have no knowledge of any synchronization which was disturbed by this unexpected development, the added time must have placed an

ing to the east he was compelled to take the road through Perea down the east side of Jordan, remaining within the reach of Herod for the time required to reach Jericho, where he again left the territories of Antipas. In the meantime, however, the persistence of danger from the officers of Herod was revealed by the message of those Pharisees who came to Jesus, and warned him, saying: "Go, get thee hence, for Herod seeks thee to kill thee."² This warning had come to him not more than a week before the day when the events chronicled in Luke 23 occurred. At that time Herod had been seeking persistently for Jesus with a continuously hostile intent, and with the ultimate purpose of putting him to death, for a period the exact length of which cannot be determined, but which had certainly continued for several weeks, perhaps months.

Luke, who gives us information of this latest warning, evidently had forgotten it for the moment when he suggested in Luke 23:8 the reason why Herod was glad to see Jesus. It is beyond the bounds of possibility to suppose that a governor who had for a long time been seeking a man to put him to death,

added strain on the supplies of such a group and thus have increased the difficulty of holding them together after their arrival. The angry reaction of James and John (Luke 9:54) while not in the spirit of Jesus, was certainly natural enough. For a similar type of resistance to Jerusalem pilgrims by Samaritans, resulting in bloodshed, probably also at Engannim (Gema) see Wars II, xii, 3; Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 354n; Dalman, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

²Mark (10:1-12) and Matthew (19:1-12) locate at about this same point the inquiry relative to divorce and Jesus' answer. Inasmuch as the Pharisees, now his open enemies, were "tempting" him in this question, it is entirely likely that the origin of the question was neither curiosity as to his views, nor desire for instruction on an abstract moral question, but an exact parallel to that penetrating inquiry in the Temple relative to the tribute. Its purpose now as then, was either to embroil Jesus with the government (in this instance with Herod, whose divorce and remarriage constituted an extraordinarily sensitive point) or to break the confidence of the people in him if he should apparently or actually condone a matter of the sinfulness of which they were profoundly convinced. The experience of John the Baptist was sufficient warning of the danger of frank expressions on the question of divorce, and it is likely that this utterance of Jesus added to the purely governmental hostility which Herod already entertained toward him.

would, when that man finally fell into his hands, find his purpose degenerated into a mere desire to see some marvel done by him. The desire to see the miracle no doubt existed, but undoubtedly the greatest "gladness" grew out of the fact that this disturber was now in his hands.³

With this understanding, we can examine more carefully the factors in the story at hand. It is to be borne in mind that neither the observers nor the chronicler of this event were trained lawyers, consequently the report is in many respects loose and is only an approximation to a precise legal report of the procedure.⁴

The hearing before Pilate described in verses 1 to 4 was evidently a formal hearing. Verse 2 is obviously a free transcript of the formal charge brought against Jesus. Each element of this charge constitutes a separate offense against the Roman government, upon which the Jewish officers sought a Roman sentence. Verse 3 is evidently an imperfect condensation of the examination or trial of Jesus by Pilate referred to later by Pilate in verse 14. And verse 4 is the equivalent of the formal judgment of this Roman court. Pilate formally found him not guilty.

³It is a pure guess to suggest that this interest in capturing Jesus was at least a contributing reason for the presence at that time of Herod in Jerusalem, whither he knew Jesus was going, (Luke 13:32-33) but it is a guess with much probability in it.

⁴Cf. Loisy, *Les Evangiles Synoptiques*, II 63: "Aucun Evangile ne contient le proces-verbal de ce qui se passa chez le procureur. Nul disciple ne se trouvait a meme d'entendre les accusations des pretres, les questions de Pilate et les responses de Jesus. La tradition a pu connaitre seulement par voie indirecte les traits generaux de l'interrogatoire et les principaux incidents qui se passerent depuis le matin du vendredi jusqu'a l'heure du crucifiement." "No gospel contains the literal report of what took place before the procurator, no disciple was present so as to hear the accusations of the priests, the questions of Pilate and the responses of Jesus. The tradition has been able to learn only through indirect channels the general characteristics of the examination and the most important incidents which took place from the day-break of Friday until the hour of the crucifixion."

The trial before Pilate ended at this point. Jesus was acquitted, adjudged an innocent man so far as the charge under the Roman law was concerned. But the priests, protesting against the sentence, gave Pilate information which caused him not to release Jesus. This information was that Jesus was a Galilean, and that he had been guilty of stirring up tumult in Galilee. This offense, it was charged, had been committed in Galilee, outside Pilate's jurisdiction, within the jurisdiction of Herod Antipas. Consequently, in preference to releasing Jesus to the crowd of Jews evidently so bitterly hostile to him, he decided to send him to Herod himself, who happened to be in Jerusalem at the time of this Passover, and who was the proper person to try one accused of offenses committed in Galilee.⁵

We meet here the first misapprehension on the part of Pilate, the first knot in the tangled skein of cross purposes and misunderstanding which ultimately led to the death of Jesus at the hands of the man who had acquitted him of the charge upon which he had tried him and who obviously desired to save his life. Herod and Pilate for some time had been very unfriendly, a situation justified, so far as we have knowledge, only by the fact that Pilate had recently put to death some Galileans in the midst of their sacrifices in Jerusalem; some no doubt of those riotous Galileans who were the leaders in most of the disturbances that harassed the Jewish nation during the last sixty years of its national existence. Anger upon the part of Herod because of this harshness towards his subjects is a rational explanation of the enmity that existed between these two neighboring governors and desire to prevent the repetition of such an event well explains Herod's presence in Jerusalem

⁵Streeter (*Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, p. 230) correctly senses the reasons for sending Jesus to Herod, and comes near to the realization that Herod could not have sent him back to Pilate as a man held to be innocent.

at this time.³ If this be correct, Pilate was thoroughly justified in assuming that this man Jesus, whose life was being sought by the Jerusalemites, but who was innocent of the charges brought against him, would be entirely safe in the hands of his lawful prince, who was so jealous of the safety of his subjects when in Jerusalem. Consequently, the easiest as well as the correct way out of the situation was to surrender jurisdiction over Jesus to Herod. This Pilate did.⁶

Full information of what occurred in that old palace of Herod would be extremely interesting, but it is not available. Evidently none of those Jews who subsequently became Christians and were present at the other hearings in which Jesus appeared during these fateful hours, were present at this one; though perhaps Manaen, Herod's foster-brother, later a prominent Christian, was an observer.⁷ The glimpse which we get into it, however, runs entirely consonant with what we know of the attitude of Herod toward Jesus. He was glad to see him; perhaps for the reason given by Luke in verse 8, but probably much more so because he at last had in his possession the man whom he for a long time had been chasing with the intent to put him to death. He questioned him searchingly; the Greek words *ἐν λόγοις ἱκανοῖς* are perhaps justifiably translated "in many words," but they are also susceptible of another or additional meaning which is involved in them in this instance. *ἱκανός* means strong, powerful, vigorous, violent. In this instance it may well add to the sense of mere number, which the word usually

⁶A satisfactory reply to those critics who deny the historicity of this incident is given by Streeter (*Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, 229-231.) His reasons for accepting it are two: (1) That there is no apparent apologetic motive or value in its insertion if not historical; (2) that the statement (Luke 23:12) that the incident led to a reconciliation between Herod and Pilate, not found elsewhere, completely illuminates and is illuminated by facts elsewhere recorded. To these we may now add, that without this incident the procedure of Pilate is entirely incomprehensible.

⁷Acts 13:1.

has in New Testament, the violent character of the speech which Herod addressed to this man who had disturbed his dominions. The fact that Jesus refused to speak brought the proceeding to an early end, the nature of which is indicated both by the words used and by the accompanying treatment accorded the accused.

The customary translation says that "Herod with his soldiers set him at naught," but this expression is entirely too weak to convey the idea of the word *ἐξουθενήσας*. The simple verb *οὐθενέω* means set at naught, make of no value, hold in contempt. The word used here, *ἐξουθενέω* is the intensive; it means that they did the things conveyed by the simple verb, but to an extraordinary degree. They made Jesus worth less than nothing, of no value whatever. As did the Jews in the instance of Paul in the temple, (Acts, 22:22) they considered "such a fellow not fit to live."

Then they followed this up with actions suitable to such an estimation. They mocked him, made a jest of him by garbing him in garments suitable to the claim which it was now well understood that Jesus was making. This man who claimed to be the Messiah of Israel, which was equivalent, at least in the common mind, to being the anointed king of the Jews, they now dressed in garments of color appropriate to such a claim. They robed him in gorgeous raiment and prepared to send him back to the governor of Jerusalem for suitable treatment.

But are we to infer from this language that they sent him back as an innocent man? Clearly not. That word expressing the intensest contempt and valuation at less than nothing whatever is undoubtedly an expression of the intent of Herod to destroy him, if not a paraphrase of a formal judgment of conviction. Garbing him as they did, is proof conclusive that they considered him guilty of the charge which was brought against him "saying that he, himself, is anointed King." There is no

reason whatever to assume that the purpose of Herod to destroy him had changed in the least. The whole proceeding before Herod is a practical equivalent of a condemnation upon the charge brought against him.

Why then did Herod himself not destroy him while he was in his power? For the obvious reason that Herod was outside of his own territory and did not have the power of life and death while he was in Jerusalem. He had only recently fallen out with Pilate, because of Pilate's abuse of power, an enmity which had continued up to this very moment. He was now delighted that Pilate had surrendered into his hands this great trouble maker, but he did not desire to give offense in turn by himself exceeding his authority while living as a visitor in Pilate's city. Consequently, instead of putting Jesus to death himself, he returned Pilate's courtesy, and sent the prisoner back to Pilate for suitable action but with clear evidence of his own estimate of the situation.

The Greek word used to indicate the exchange of Jesus between these two officers is a word with precise legal significance. *Ἀναπέμπω* does not merely mean to send; it is a technical judicial word meaning to surrender jurisdiction, to turn over to someone else with full authority. It is well translated by the expression, "send up," which is used between our courts and higher courts, when a court "sends up" a case for review, at the same time surrendering its control over the case.* When Pilate *ἀνέπεμψεν* Jesus to Herod, he surrendered him fully to Herod. He passed out of control and authority of Pilate into the complete authority and control of Herod. Similarly, when Herod *ἀνέπεμψεν* him to Pilate, he again surrendered jurisdic-

*Cf. for example, its use by Josephus, *Wars*, I, xxix, 3, end. Also in Acts 25:21. Creed, *The Gospel according to St. Luke*, p. 281, translates it "to send up to a higher authority."

tion though this time with an entirely different presumption concerning his guilt.

It is not reasonable to suppose that these interchanges between the two officers took place without writings. When Pilate sent Jesus to Herod, beyond a doubt he sent information as to why he sent him and under what conditions. Similarly, when Herod sent Jesus back to Pilate he undoubtedly sent with him a communication telling Pilate his findings in connection with him. Had he found nothing wrong, had he found Jesus to be an innocent man who deserved his protection, he would himself have kept him. As it was, he sent him back to Pilate garbed in garments speaking more loudly than words of the estimation which Herod placed upon the charge that Jesus claimed to be King of the Jews, and no doubt with written statement of his finding that Jesus was actually guilty of the offenses charged to him, and therefore worthy of death.

This procedure upon the part of Herod therefore placed Pilate in a new position, more difficult than that which obtained when he had sent Jesus to Herod. At that time he had just found Jesus not guilty of any crime and could very readily have released him, as he would doubtless have done had he not been told that Jesus was a Galilean. Now, however, the accused man was again in Pilate's authority, in the anomalous position of having been found innocent by Pilate but guilty by Herod, who, as his lawful prince, had authority to pronounce such a sentence. Still disposed, however, very naturally, to release if possible one who, he was convinced, was not guilty of the charges against him, Pilate undertook to justify both to the accusing chief priests and to the Jewish multitude whom he now called into the controversy, and thus indirectly to Herod himself, his intention not to carry out Herod's obvious purpose. Justification for his own position he did not need. He did not propose, how-

ever, to ignore Herod's decision entirely; to do so would have been to invite a renewal or even an accentuation of the enmity which had previously existed between them, and which held dangers for both in their relations with Rome. Since Jesus had been charged with being the leader of the multitude, he naturally assumed that a decision saving Jesus' life would meet with the approval of the multitude and it was for this reason no doubt that he called the multitude before him with the chief priests and rulers. In this he made his second error of judgment, for the multitude of which Jesus was the leader was not present. The Jerusalem multitude had not accepted the Messianic ideas of Jesus nor participated in the attempt upon the Temple; very probably most of them deeply resented that attempt. If they had any feeling toward him other than that of curiosity it was the usual Jerusalem attitude of dislike and contempt for the *am-haaretz* of Galilee and their leader, increased by the equivocal answer of Jesus on the question of the hated tribute. Consequently, just as he had mistakenly relied upon the friendly attitude of Herod, Pilate now mistakenly relied upon the friendly attitude of the multitude.

Every translator, from Wyckliffe to Moffatt and Goodspeed, has approached the speech which Pilate now delivered, with the conviction that Jesus had been acquitted by Herod. Indeed, the translation in Tyndale's hands took the form which has persisted almost without change through all the English versions down to and including the revised. This in the authorized version is as follows:

"Ye have brought this man unto me as one that perverteth the people, and behold, I, having examined him before you, have found no fault in this man, touching those things whereof you accused him. No, nor yet Herod, for I sent you to him and lo nothing that is worthy of death is done by him. I will therefore chastise him and release him." Luke 23:14-16.

The revised version, based upon the older text, is almost the

same though with one essential difference. It reads as follows:

"Ye brought unto me this man, as one that perverteth the people: and behold, I, having examined him before you, found no fault in this man touching those things whereof ye accuse him: No, nor yet Herod; *for he sent him back unto us*; and behold, nothing worthy of death has been done by him. I will therefore chastise him, and release him."

To see how wide of the mark this translation immediately appears, when once it is recognized that Herod had not found Jesus innocent, it is necessary only to examine the Greek. This, as given by Westcott and Hort, is as follows:

προσηνέγκατέ μοι τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον ὡς ἀποστρέφοντα τὸν λαόν
καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐνώπιον ὑμῶν ἀνακρίνας οὐθὲν εὗρον ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ
τούτῳ αἴτιον ὧν κατηγορεῖτε κατ' αὐτοῦ. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Ἡρώδης, ἀνέπεμψεν
γὰρ αὐτὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς· καὶ ἰδοὺ οὐδὲν ἄξιον θανάτου ἐστὶν πεπραγμένον
αὐτῷ· παιδεύσας οὖν αὐτὸν ἀπολύσω.

Ultimately a re-editing of the passage for punctuation, with one change in word division, will be suggested. To begin with, however, let Pilate's statement concerning Herod be considered in its present form.

The Greek is:

ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Ἡρώδης, ἀνέπεμψεν γὰρ αὐτὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς.

The first clause of this sentence is elliptical; there are two conjunctions and a noun in the nominative, with predicate entirely lacking. The simple translation of the words as they stand would be

"But not (indeed) Herod."

The basic and normal meaning of ἀλλά is adversative. The natural thing to expect from this passage is contrast with what has gone before. Were the particle δὲ lacking, that is, if the Greek read ἀλλ' οὐχ Ἡρώδης, there would be no uncertainty whatever about this. It would mean definitely that whatever Pilate had done, Herod did not do.

Leaving the discussion of the particle for the moment, ob-

serve the statement contained in the previous sentence. Pilate says :

ἐγὼ οὐθὲν εὗρον ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τούτῳ αἴτιον ὧν κατηγορεῖτε κατ' αὐτοῦ.

"I—found in this man nothing worthy of condemnation of those things of which you were accusing him."

This was a definite finding upon the part of Pilate; it is practically equivalent to saying "I found this man innocent."⁸ This, then, is the sentence with which the succeeding elliptical expression is placed in contrast.

"I found him guilty of nothing (i, e., I found him innocent) but Herod did not.

Further, the contrast involves the subjects of the two sentences. The use of the pronoun ἐγὼ by Pilate is emphatic and results in placing his action in sharp contrast with that of Herod :

"I found nothing in this man worthy of condemnation, but, on the contrary, Herod did not."

In this use of the pronoun also is found the explanation for the use of the particle, δὲ; its correlative μέν is implied in the emphatic ἐγὼ. Failure to observe this contrast has caused the editors to write the expression οὐδὲ instead of οὐ δὲ, thus further obscuring the meaning.

Pilate does not stop with the mere statement that Herod did not (acquit him); he adds a clause of proof :

ἀνέπεμψεν γὰρ αὐτὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς.

"For he sent him back to us."

What was the significance of this sending back? The translators all evidently have supposed that it meant that Herod had found him innocent. Yet such conclusion is entirely illogical and the exact opposite of the real meaning. Jesus was a subject of Herod. To Herod Pilate had sent him, an acquitted man in dan-

⁸Cf. Loisy, *L'Evangile selon Luc*, p. 544, "Celle declaration formelle d' innocence," "This formal declaration of innocence."

ger because of the antagonism of the Jerusalem Jews. Had Herod also considered him innocent he would have kept him and protected him instead of sending him back to the population that was so obviously and so actively seeking for his life. There is no satisfactory reason whatever why Herod should have sent away into manifest danger a subject whom he had found not guilty of the charges brought against him. From Herod he was entitled to acquittal and protection, if he was innocent; only if he deserved punishment should Herod have sent him, still under arrest, back to the authority which alone in Jerusalem had power to punish. The proof, then, which Pilate submitted, fully sustained his statement, that "Herod did not" acquit him.

The trouble that Gospel transcribers have had with this proof clause⁹ indicates how difficult it has been to make its language support the interpretation universally given to ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Ἡρώδης. The oldest texts (Σ B K L and many others) carry the text given above. The Lucianic and Western texts (A D X and others) read

ἀνέπεμψα γὰρ ὑμᾶς πρὸς αὐτόν.

"For I sent you to him."

Others of much less weight carry it

ἀνέπεμψα γὰρ αὐτόν πρὸς αὐτόν

"For I sent him to him."

while still others make it,

ἀνέπεμψα γὰρ αὐτόν πρὸς ὑμᾶς

"For I sent him to you."

All these variations from the oldest text are obvious attempts to emend the actual text so as to make the thought of the sentence consecutive, to make the second clause a real support, which the genuine text certainly is not, for the interpretation placed

⁹Eaton, *The Gospel According to Luke*, p. 344: "The text of the second clause is in hopeless confusion."

upon the first clause. The difficulty that led to the attempted emendations disappears as soon as the correct meaning is given to the main clause. Herod has not acquitted him, for he has sent him back to Pilate.¹⁰

Pilate then has established his ground; he has found Jesus innocent but Herod has not. Consequently, something must be done about it. But before stating what he is going to do he suggests a qualification of the condition created by Herod's failure to agree with him. Such decision upon the part of Herod has a definite limit:

καὶ ἰδοὺ οὐδὲν ἄξιον θανάτου ἐστὶν πεπραγμένον αὐτῷ.

In the current interpretation this also has been interpreted as a confirmation of the conviction that in these hearings everything ran in one direction. As a summing up Pilate was made to say

"And behold, nothing worthy of death has been done by him."

Meaning thereby, that both himself and Herod had investigated the allegations and found nothing in them. But this sentence furnishes another contrast. Καὶ is not always consecutive; it is frequently used in the sense of contrast, Ἴδου is sometimes used in the same sense. Clearly the two together have that meaning here.¹¹ Herod has not found Jesus innocent; "and yet nothing worthy of death has been done by him."

¹⁰Montefiore (*the Synoptic Gospels*, II, 621) senses the essential elements of the transaction between Jesus and Pilate and Herod, and for complete solution of the problem requires only the correction of the translation given in the text. "Verse 15 rounds off the story about Herod, and Pilate is made to say that Herod takes the same view as himself as to Jesus' innocency. It is noticeable that this is an inference which 6-12 had not entirely justified. Certainly what we get in 9, and more especially in 10-12, looks as if it were taken from the tradition according to which Herod had not, like Pilate, found nothing blameworthy in Jesus, but had condemned him. * * * It would be more in accordance with 15 * * * if Herod too had openly declared, just like Pilate, that he found Jesus not guilty." But 15 as herein translated removes all the contradiction.

¹¹See Thayer, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*, sub ἰδοὺ,

Pilate's proposed action, so long considered by students of this episode to be wholly irrational, and indeed truly irrational in the meaning heretofore given to this passage, now becomes entirely rational. The prisoner is no longer held entirely innocent, he has been found guilty by a competent authority; yet his offense is not of supreme consequence, he has done nothing worthy of death. "I will therefore chastise him and release him." Chastisement as concession to the decision of Herod; but release as his just due according to the finding of Pilate, that nothing worthy of death has been done by him.

The plan should have succeeded had Pilate's assumption as to the friendly attitude of the multitude been correct. That it did not is a subject for another discussion.¹² The only point essential to this one is the demonstration that neither the circumstances nor the language justify the conclusion that Herod as well as Pilate found Jesus not guilty.

Since this line of reasoning depends largely upon the interpretation given to the elliptical expression ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Ἡρώδης, a little further examination of that expression is justified.

Ἀλλ' οὐδέ occurs four times in the New Testament and frequently in classic literature. In no place in the classics is it interpreted to mean agreement with the preceding sentence or clause; invariably it expresses contrast. Sometimes it is best translated "But not even"; in others "But not indeed:" Sometimes as plain "but not." But in no place in classic literature is it representative of a mere continuation of the idea contained in the previous sentence; always it presents a contradictory or

especially his reference to καὶ ἰδοὺ in 2 Cor. 6:9 and Matt. 7:4. As to the use of καὶ in contrast, see Thayer, *Lexicon N. T.* sub καὶ I, 2, e citing especially Matt. 3:14, 6:26, 10:29, Rev. 3:1, etc.; Liddell and Scott, *Lexicon*, sub καὶ, A, II, 3, A IV.

¹²Harlow, *Jesus the Man*, p. 242 ff. For other reasons for the conclusion that Herod condemned Jesus, *ibid.*, p. 240, note.

contrasted idea. A characteristic example is found in Homer's *Odyssey*, I, 6:

ἀρνύμενος ἦν τε ψυχὴν καὶ νόστον ἐταίρων.

ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς ἐταίρους ἐρρύσατο ἰέμενός περ.

"Seeking to win his own life and the return of his comrades. But not thus did he save his comrades, eager though he was."

Another is the *Iliad*, 7, 263:

τμήδην δ' αὖχεν' ἐπῆλθε, μέλαν δ' ἀνεκήκιν αἶμα.

ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς ἀπέληγε μάχης κορυθαίολος Ἑκτωρ.

"Cutting it (the spear) struck his neck, and the black blood gushed forth. But not thus did Hector of the glancing helm leave the combat."

This grows out of the basic connotation of *ἀλλά* which carries the root signification of *ἄλλός* and is adversative; it invariably introduces a new, a different idea. The construction occurs in seven other instances in the *Iliad*, always with the same effect.

Another significant observation is that in such constructions *οὐδέ* is practically equivalent to *οὐ*. The *δέ* in composition merely serves to intensify the connection with what goes before. Its effect might be indicated by adding "even,"—"but not even,"—but at the expense of accuracy, for "even," adds an emphasis not actually contained in the Greek.

In the New Testament beside the instance under discussion, this construction occurs three times, two of which are in Paul's letters, the other, as in this instance, by Luke. In Acts 19:2:

εἶπεν τε πρὸς αὐτοὺς Εἰ πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐλάβετε πιστεύσαντες; οἱ δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν Ἀλλ' οὐδ' εἰ πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐστὶν ἠκούσαμεν.

"And he said unto them, Did ye receive the Holy Spirit when ye believed?" And they *said* unto him, "Nay, we did not so much as hear whether there is a Holy Spirit."

Here also there is an ellipsis. The translation is determined by the manner in which the translator supplies the omitted idea. Undoubtedly the expressed words present a contrast to those unexpressed. Most reasonably the contrast is with the idea of pro-

priety or obligation or proper expectation involved in the query of Paul. That question indicates that they should have received the Holy Spirit. Their answer means "Perhaps we should have received the Holy Spirit as you suggest; but quite to the contrary we have not heard that there is a Holy Spirit." The contrast involved in the *ἀλλά* is here clear and distinct. Here also the *δέ* in *οὐδέ* would be better not translated. Its significance is in its reference back to the preceding matter rather than in intensification of the contrast. A more accurate translation would be "On the contrary, we did not hear whether there is a Holy Spirit."

The essential factor for the present question, however, is that in this instance the expression *ἀλλ' οὐδ'* as a whole definitely indicates an absolute contrast with what goes before.

It is significant that these two instances exhaust the appearance of the construction in the historical books, and that both are used by Luke. The inference is legitimate that he has used them with uniform effect.

Indeed, though the grammarians indicate to the contrary, it is extremely doubtful whether in any of the gospels, particularly in Luke, even without *οὐ*, *ἀλλά* is used in any sense except that of contrast. The idea of "heightening" mentioned by Thayer (sub *ἀλλά*) is characteristic of a few instances in Paul, but the instances cited in Luke are all more satisfactorily translated as contrast rather than as consecutive, or, as Blass puts it, "introducing an accessory idea." These instances deserve attention. The first one is Luke 12:6, 7:

οὐχὶ πέντε στρουθία πωλοῦνται ἀσσαρίων δύο; καὶ ἐν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπιλελησμένον ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ. ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ τρίχες τῆς κεφαλῆς ὑμῶν ἡρίθμηνται.

"Are not five sparrows sold for two pence? And not one of them is forgotten in the sight of God. But the very hairs of your head are numbered."

This is the clearest example of the "consecutive" use available in Luke. Yet this use is actually a contrast with the idea imbedded, though not expressed, in the preceding clause. A type of ellipsis exists in this kind of statement. "Are not five sparrows sold for two pence? And not one of them is forgotten in the sight of God. God forgets not the least important thing, but on the contrary the very hairs of your head are all numbered." Heightening there is, but the accessory clause is so much stronger as to make a sharp contrast with the first clause. The *ἀλλὰ* shows the contrast in the heightening; otherwise the *καὶ* alone would completely add the accessory idea.

In Luke 16:21:

ἐπιθυμῶν χορτασθῆναι ἀπὸ τῶν πιπτόντων ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης τοῦ πλουσίου· ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ κύνες ἐρχόμενοι ἐπέλειχον τὰ ἕλκη αὐτοῦ.

"desiring to be fed with the crumbs that fell from the rich man's table; yea, even the dogs came and licked his sores."

This translation does eliminate contrast entirely; it makes the second sentence merely another in the catalogue of the unhappy features of the condition of Lazarus. Yet in the Greek, and even in the English context, the contrast between even that humble desire and what actually occurred is obvious. There is nothing to indicate that Lazarus was actually fed from the table of Dives as he desired; on the contrary what actually happened was that the dogs came and licked his sores. The passage could be better translated, "but instead, even the dogs came and licked his sores." This would give the full basic meaning to *ἀλλά* and would be entirely compatible with the situation.

In Luke 24:21,22.

ἡμεῖς δὲ ἠλπίζομεν ὅτι αὐτὸς ἔστιν ὁ μέλλων λυτροῦσθαι τὸν Ἰσραήλ· ἀλλὰ γε καὶ σὺν πᾶσιν τούτοις τρίτην ταύτην ἡμέραν ἄγει ἀφ' οὗ ταῦτα ἐγένετο. ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖκες τινες ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐξέστησαν ἡμᾶς κ.τ.λ.

"But we hoped that it was he who should redeem Israel. Yea, and beside all this, it is now the third day since these things came

to pass. Moreover, certain women of our company amazed us, having been early at his tomb, etc."

The application of the "heightening" theory here has obscured the evident meaning. These three clauses—they are rather sentences, and the point after Ἰσραήλ could better be a period—are in active contrast; the second with the first and the third with the second. The second is incomplete, not expressing fully the disappointment at the failure of materialization of the hope expressed in the first. Such a translation as follows completely accords with the circumstances, and carries the full adversative force of ἀλλά:

"We hoped that he was the one who should redeem Israel. But indeed *he evidently was not* for even with all these things the third day is now passing since these things occurred. But yet, *we are still uncertain*, for certain women of our company amazed us, etc."

Blass's statement, then, *for Luke*, should be modified to this extent: ἀλλά γε καί and ἀλλὰ καὶ are used to introduce an accessory idea in a manner so emphatic as to produce a contrast with the idea which it follows and with which it is compared. It is not used in such a way that it can properly and fully be translated "and also."

The significance of these considerations in estimating the proper effect of ἀλλ' οὐδέ Ἡρώδης is apparent.

The other two instances of ἀλλ' οὐδέ occur in Paul's first letter to the Corinthians 3:2 and 4:3. In 3:2 it is as follows, in the revisers' text:

γάλα ὑμᾶς ἐπότισα, οὐ βρώμα· οὐπω γὰρ ἐδύνασθε· ἀλλ' οὐδέ ἔτι νῦν δύνασθε; ἔτι γὰρ σαρκικοί ἐστε.

"I fed you with milk, not with meat; for ye were not able to bear it; not even now are ye able; for ye are yet carnal."

Tischendorf punctuates with a period after ἐδύνασθε; but Westcott-Hort and Nestle in addition end the paragraph at that point and begin a new paragraph with ἀλλ' οὐδέ. Such treatment breaks the close consecution indicated by the revisers'

text, and indicates a change in the thought. And it leaves room to fill out the ellipsis creating the mental attitude which caused Paul to use *ἀλλά* instead of *καί*. This intervening idea was the immediate step after the suggestion "for you were not yet able to bear it," to-wit, that "whenever you were able to bear it, I intended to feed you meat." This idea Paul did not express, but it found its contrast in his next sentence, "but not even yet are ye able." Without this intervention *καί* would express his attitude better.

In I Cor. 4:3:

ἐμοὶ δὲ εἰς ἐλάχιστόν ἐστιν ἵνα ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀνακριθῶ ἢ ὑπὸ ἀνθρωπίνης ἡμέρας· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐμαυτὸν ἀνακρίνω· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐμαυτῷ σύννοιδα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν τούτῳ δεδικαίωμαί, ὃ δὲ ἀνακρίνων με κύριός ἐστιν.

"But with me it is a very small thing that I should be judged of you, or of man's judgment: yea, I judge not mine own self. For I know nothing against myself; yet I am not hereby justified: but he that judgeth me is the Lord."

Here is one place where the revisers certainly failed to make the meaning more clear. It is a passage which has caused trouble,—as a matter of fact, *ἀλλ' οὐδέ* always has caused trouble for translators since English translations began. That *ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐμαυτὸν ἀνακρίνω* has been translated in many ways, of which the revisers' form is not the best. Here are several of them:

Wyckliffe: But nether I deme my silf.

Tyndale, (Cranmer and Geneva) No, I judge not myn own selfe.

Rheims: But I judge not myself neither.

Authorized (and R. V.): Yea, I judge not mine owne selfe.

Moffatt: I do not even cross-question myself.

Goodspeed: I do not even offer myself for investigation.

To get at the meat of this somewhat obscure passage it is necessary to begin with 4:1. Herewith is a proposed translation from that point, which differs in essential meaning from all the others:

Thus let a man estimate us, as ministers of Christ and stewards of the mysteries of God. Here, moreover, it is required in stewards that one be found faithful. To me indeed it is of very slight con-

sequence that I be examined (for faithfulness) by you, or by any human day (of judgment).

But I do not examine myself; for I have no consciousness of wrong within me. But I am not justified in this fact; he that examineth me is the Lord. Wherefore, decide nothing before the Time, until the Lord come, who will both turn the light upon the hidden things of darkness and make manifest the counsels of the heart; and then shall the approval come to each one from God.

This translation appears to be thoroughly tenable, and if so gives to ἀλλά its basic adversative value. It must be admitted that in other instances, notably II Cor. 7:11, Phil. 3:8, Phil. 1:8, II Cor. 11:1, Paul uses ἀλλά in a manner that is clearly susceptible of the "accessory idea" interpretation of Blass and Robertson, and that finding these instances gives support to the tendency to apply the same method in the two instances discussed above. But such interpretation is peculiar to Paul, and is not necessary even in these cases; it is less compatible with the context than the contrast or adversative idea. And it must be remembered that ἀλλά with the negative, presents an entirely different situation from that which arises with the use of ἀλλά alone.

No little of the uncertainty surrounding the interpretation of ἀλλ' οὐδέ has grown out of the feeling that the δέ added to the οὐ to make the οὐδέ has in every instance added something to the negative. This is not true; there are numerous instances where the δέ with οὐ has no translation value whatever, but merely has the effect of impressing the second clause with its relation to the one preceding, which may or may not be translatable in special word. Such an instance is Luke 6:3, where the translation is strained to make room for the δέ. 'Ουδέ would be better translated as a straight "not": "Have ye not read what David did, when he was hungry?" The same comment is justifiable in Luke 23:40. As a matter of fact this combination of the two words into one is often an error. They are frequently

separated in classical usage, as, for example in Iliad 5:138, 24:418, and in some of these difficult passages which we are discussing the same editorial practice would be desirable. Under such circumstances the *δέ* would always have its own adversative value, greater or less as the circumstances require.

Accordingly these *ἀλλ' οὐδέ* cases might be generally analyzed to this effect: they are instances of specially emphatic contrast, where the one weak adversative *δέ* or even *ἀλλά* is insufficient to express it, and where the *ἀλλά* is used in the sense of "on the contrary," in order to supplement the *δέ* and thus emphasize the contrast. But the construction is never properly translated as a pure cumulative statement, merely adding to a previous statement more of the same kind.

A re-editing of Luke 23:13-16, especially in its punctuation, is now proposed:

Πειλάτος δὲ συγκαλεσάμενος τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἀρχόντας καὶ τὸν λαὸν εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς Προσηνέγκατέ μοι τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον ὡς ἀποστρέφοντα τὸν λαόν. Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐγώ, ἐνώπιον ὑμῶν ἀνακρίνας, οὐθέν εὑρον ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τούτῳ αἴτιον ὧν κατηγορεῖτε κατ' αὐτοῦ. Ἀλλ' οὐ δὲ Ἡρώδης· ἀνεπέμψεν γὰρ αὐτὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς. Καὶ ἰδοὺ, οὐδὲν ἄξιον θανάτου ἐστὶν πεπραγμένον αὐτῷ· παιδεύσας οὖν αὐτὸν ἀπολύσω.

The proposed new translation is that given on page 76 at the beginning of this discussion.¹³

¹³Lest such an attempt as that given in the text above seem useless, observe the four essentially different forms which this passage takes at the hands of the great modern editors:

Griesbach, Mill, Scholz, Tregelles

Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Ἡρώδης· ἀνέπεμψα γὰρ ὑμᾶς πρὸς αὐτὸν, καὶ ἰδοὺ οὐδὲν ἄξιον θανάτου ἐστὶν πεπραγμένον αὐτῷ. παιδεύσας οὖν αὐτὸν ἀπολύσω.

Tischendorf

Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Ἡρώδης· ἀνέπεμψεν γὰρ αὐτὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἰδοὺ οὐδὲν ἄξιον θανάτου ἐστὶ πεπραγμένον αὐτῷ. παιδεύσας οὖν αὐτὸν ἀπολύσω.

Westcott and Hort, Nestle

Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ Ἡρώδης, ἀνέπεμψεν γὰρ αὐτὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς· καὶ ἰδοὺ οὐδὲν ἄξιον θανάτου ἐστὶν πεπραγμένον αὐτῷ· παιδεύσας οὖν αὐτὸν ἀπολύσω.

Von Soden

Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ Ἡρώδης. ἀνέπεμψεν γὰρ αὐτὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἰδοὺ οὐδὲν ἄξιον θανάτου ἐστὶν πεπραγμένον αὐτῷ. παιδεύσας οὖν αὐτὸν ἀπολύσω.

Certainly in view of these wide editorial variations it cannot be said that this text is so well settled as to make any further suggestion useless or impossible.

VIII

"Ἕτεροι κακοῦργοι δύνω.

Considering the nature of Jesus' movement upon Jerusalem and the intense antagonism which it aroused, it would seem, upon the face of it, strange that the record shows no one to have been arrested and put to death besides Jesus himself. Especially does this seem strange when we consider the evidence that the hostility of the Jerusalem authorities was not confined to Jesus alone.

All four of the gospels agree in the statement that there was a struggle in the Garden of Gethsemane at the time of Jesus' arrest, which reached the extent of bloodshed. Matthew and Mark agree in the statement that after the struggle all the disciples abandoned Jesus and fled. Mark adds the information that the arresting officers were able to lay hold upon one young man, presumably Mark himself, but that he escaped by leaving his garment in the hands of his pursuers. These facts clearly indicate the desire to arrest others beside Jesus.

The apocryphal Gospel according to Peter reveals the necessity which compelled the disciples to hide from their pursuers: "and being wounded in mind, we hid ourselves: for we were being sought for by them as malefactors and as wishing to set fire to the temple."

This sense of danger is also manifested in the story of Peter's denial of his relation to Jesus in the court of the High Priest. Had it been safe to do so, Peter certainly would have admitted his knowledge of Jesus. Likewise, the remark that was made indicates that the interest of the officers was not in a single person: "Thou, also, art one of them." And the popular understanding of the composition of the crowd which followed

Jesus is also revealed by the remark of another who accused Peter of complicity: "Of a truth thou art one of them, for thou art a Galilean." Evidently a search was being conducted for every one who had been in any way attached to the movement, especially for Galileans.

Yet the universal opinion has been that Jesus, alone, suffered the wrath of the outraged rulers, and that all who had been associated with him either were not sought for, or were permitted to escape. The Gospel of John, indeed, shows that this view had crystallized by the early part of the second century, by the words put into the mouth of Jesus at the time of his arrest: "That the word might be fulfilled which he spake, Of those whom thou hast given me, I lost not one."

Such a view of the matter was entirely compatible with the idea that only the Twelve constituted the following of Jesus. The subsequent story of the Christian movement accounts for all twelve of these, thus leaving no possibility for the arrest of any follower. But the realization that there was a great crowd of followers with Jesus in the Temple, assisting in his attack upon the merchants and Temple authorities, and protecting him against the desire of the authorities to arrest him, raises a question at once as to whether all these people could have been able to escape such a manifest purpose to secure those who were involved with him in the Temple.

Such a curiosity will instantly fall upon the only other persons who are known to have suffered with him.

The incident is very briefly told.

Mark gives it (R. V.)

"And with him they crucify two robbers; one on his right hand and one on his left; and they that were crucified with him reproached him."

Matthew is almost identical:

"Then are there crucified with him two robbers, one on the

right hand and one on the left. The Scribes and elders said: "He saved others; himself he cannot save. He is the King of Israel; let him now come down from the cross, and we will believe upon him. He trusteth in God; let him deliver him now if he desireth him: for he said, I am the son of God. And the robbers also that were crucified with him cast upon him the same reproach."

Luke makes the story more circumstantial:

"And there were also two others, malefactors, led with him to be put to death. And when they came unto the place which is called the skull, there they crucified him, and the malefactors with him, one on the right hand and the other on the left. And one of the malefactors that were hanged railed on him, saying: Art thou not the Christ? Save thyself and us. But the other answered and rebuking him said, Dost thou not (even) fear God, seeing thou art in the same condemnation? and we indeed justly; for we receive the due reward of our deeds: but this man hath done nothing amiss. And he said, Jesus, remember me when thou comest in thy kingdom. And he said unto him, Verily I say unto you, this day shalt thou be with me in Paradise."

The peculiarities of this story have attracted the attention of great numbers of students of the story of Jesus, but probably for the reason suggested above, it seems to have occurred to no one who has written about it that these two men, instead of being merely casual criminals included in the execution for the reason that they were due to be executed at that time, were two of Jesus' own followers captured with him, and for that reason included in "the same condemnation."

Certain obvious considerations deserve attention, after which the matter may be examined more in detail.

First, the location of the other two crosses, one on either side of Jesus, would indicate some relation between them; the leader, for example, between his two followers. Next, the fact that the two men who were dying with him "reproached him," or, as Luke puts it, "railed at him," is psychologically a most extraordinary thing. *ὀνειδίζον*, the word used by Matthew and Mark, carries with it a sense of personal wrong; very frequently it is used with the accusative of the charge imputed to the person reproached. Now it is not normal for one who is in the agony

and fear of death, as were these two men, to maintain an abstract antagonism which would bring forth this show of feeling toward a stranger. The idea of dying men jeering at another dying man merely because of some foolish notion which he had previously held is so far from the facts of human nature as to be grotesque. If these men were abusing Jesus, were "upbraiding him" it was because they had had some previous relation with him, had suffered some wrong at his hands which justified them in an anger towards him, intense enough to carry over even into so terrible a moment.

If they were reproaching him for his erroneous beliefs, it was because those erroneous beliefs had had some evil effect upon them.

The suggestion is strengthened by the distinction drawn between the two by Luke, who, instead of saying as Matthew and Mark that both reproached him, indicates that only one did so, while the other used language conciliatory and submissive. The second reminds the first that "We are in the same condemnation," ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κρίματι. What condemnation? Jesus had been condemned to death upon the charge of riot, of leading the nation astray, of claiming a kingly authority contrary to that of Rome. If these men were in the same condemnation, they must have participated in the same offense.¹ The passage cannot properly be interpreted as meaning merely that these men found themselves in the same position as regards approaching death. The Greek word translated "condemnation" cannot properly be used as an equivalent of "situation."

Κρίμα is variously translated as a decision, a decree, a judgment, a sentence; meaning always a decision based upon a legal ground. When used, as it frequently is in the New Testament, to refer to the decisions of God, it always carries with it the

¹Cf. Eisler, *The Messiah Jesus*, pp. 10, 510.

legalistic attitude of Jehovah, judging men by His law. If these men were in the same sentence, it must have been the outgrowth of the same proceeding, for the language is not that it was a *like* sentence, but *τῷ αὐτῷ κρίματι*, the same identical sentence.

Further, both speakers in Luke's story appear familiar with Jesus, his ideas and expectations, and his previous actions. Especially is the last speaker on intimate terms with the whole Messianic expectation. He speaks the same language that would be spoken by an intimate follower of Jesus. He is familiar with the very complex idea that Jesus and his kingdom will yet come even after the terrible event in which they at that moment are concerned. He has previous knowledge that Jesus has done nothing out of the way,—knowledge which no one could have who had not been with him through the period involving the matters upon which he had been convicted. He, himself, is a believer in the Messiahship of Jesus and holds this conviction so strongly that it is not broken even by the contradictory actual fact of Jesus' condition at that time. No assumption that Jesus had had time to instruct him concerning these many items in the brief period during which they had been cast into contact by this execution, sufficiently to give him this great conviction, is tenable. These convictions must have been the product of much longer association under more favorable conditions. The resurrection, which was to convince so many people of the Messiahship, was yet to come; the status in which Jesus then stood was in every respect contradictory to the popular idea of the Messiah.

The words of Jesus himself are striking, "This day," said he, "thou shalt be with me in Paradise." This language, that of the great majority of the texts, is a reply to the request of the second speaker. Such an answer could scarcely be a response to an unexpected spoken adherence. When the practical certainty of previous close acquaintance, as shown by the language of

the man addressing him is remembered, the answer of Jesus seems far more like an encouragement to a believer passing with him through the valley. And the language of the reply as given by D is, if correct, even more significant. In this manuscript, Jesus is shown as addressing the one who was blaspheming him: "Answering, Jesus said to the very one who was abusing him, Be of good courage; To-day thou shalt be with me in Paradise." If this reading is considered, it is beyond doubt that he was here attempting to revive the courage of his fainting follower by reminding him that the promises still held good, and that beyond the bitterness of the experience through which they were passing lay the glories of the Kingdom.

The words used to describe these men are interesting. Mark, followed by Matthew, calls them *ληῆσται*. This, the AV translates as "thieves." The RV translates it more accurately as "robbers," but even this word does not carry the full connotation of the Greek. The *λήστης* was characterized, not so much by the taking of the property, as by the violent method by which he took it. He was a freebooter, a plunderer, a pirate, a buccaneer. He was on land the equivalent of those English gentlemen who sailed the Spanish Main or, perhaps of the type of Robin Hood and his followers. Thus Thucydides calls attention to the fact that the term did not always carry with it a disgraceful connotation, even among the Greeks. Among the Jews at that time the robber bands which infested the mountains and, refusing to submit to the Roman domination, lived by brigandage, were many times a type of national heroes and their deeds were chronicled as matters of historical value and racial pride. Such a man had David been when he was a fugitive from Saul;² such the great Judas, the popular hero of Galilee in Jesus' own youth.

²I Samuel, 22:2: "And everyone that was in distress, and everyone that was in debt, and everyone that was bitter of soul, gathered themselves unto him; and he became captain over them."

The current idea, based upon the Authorized Version, that these men were common pilferers or petty thieves, is very far from a correct interpretation of the Greek term used.³

The term used by Luke is still further from the common notion. He calls them *κακοῦργοι*, which is translated both in AV and RV as "malefactors." This term, however, in the few other places where it is used in the New Testament and Septuagint, carries with it primarily the idea of one who has broken the law or who merely is a criminal in the legal sense. This is its most common use in classic Greek. It has no necessary presumption of base or disgraceful crime. In our time it could apply alike to the violator of the traffic laws, to the instigator of a riot, or to a housebreaker. It means the breaker of any law. The conclusion is entirely legitimate that these men were not common thieves, but were men who had come under the ban of the law as revolutionists, for some act of violence which may or may not have involved the taking of property.

An interesting sidelight is found in Luke's first reference

³Interesting in the extreme is Josephus' use of the word. The story of the Wars, in particular, is full of it, used in many contexts, with varying meaning but always carrying the essential connotation of membership in an organized band offering violent resistance against the legal authority, usually but not always including robbery. For instance, the followers of Simon and of Athrongaeus, each of whom set himself up as a claimant to the kingdom following the death of Herod the Great, were called *λήσται*, whose "principal object was to kill Romans and royalists" (Wars, II, iv, 23). Hezekiah, whose destruction by Herod was the beginning of that prince's great career, was the leader of a great host of men, was called *ἀρχιλήστης* and his followers *λήσται*, (I, x, 5). In II, iii, 3, Josephus called the Sicarii *ἕτερον εἶδος λήστων*, likewise in ii, 18. The (probably) Messianic outbreaks recorded by him in II, xiii, 3, were participated in by the impostors and the *λήσται*, —οἱ γὰρ γόητες καὶ ληστικοὶ συναχθέντες. Festus found them the principal plague of the country, *τῶν τοῦν λήστων συνέλαβέν τε πλείστους*, and "put not a few to death," crucifixion being the usual punishment. In II, xvi, 7, 8, and in xix, i, the Jewish rebels are plainly called *λήσται*. The distinction between the *ξηλωταί* and the *λήσται* is very narrow, if it exists. These two *λήσται* who were put to death were spiritual brethren of Simon the Zealot, one of the Twelve. Cf. Mommsen, *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, II, p. 222 (English

to these two men. The Revised Version puts it "And there were also two others, malefactors, led with him to be put to death."

This is a translation of the Greek as found in the early edited texts, as follows:

ἤγοντο καὶ ἕτεροι δύο κακοῦργοι σὺν αὐτῷ. This order of the words, however, while supported by numerous old manuscripts, does not have the support of the oldest and best manuscripts. \aleph , B, Sahidic and Coptic give them as follows:

ἤγοντο καὶ ἕτεροι κακοῦργοι δύο σὺν αὐτῷ.

The significance of the difference is apparent. The current text says, there were led with him *two others, malefactors*. The oldest texts say, there were led with him *other malefactors, two*. If this means anything, it means that Jesus was a malefactor in the same basic sense that the other two were.

Probably because of a shrinking from this necessary implication, Tischendorf in this verse varies his almost universal estimate of the weight of documentary authorities. Almost invariably, when \aleph and B agree against all other manuscript authorities, Tischendorf accepts the \aleph B reading. But in this instance he does not. He abandons the older reading because of the obvious implication that the older language would make of Jesus also a κακοῦργος. Westcott and Hort, however, more thoroughgoing and undoubtedly more worthy of confidence, do not vary from their rule, and sustain the \aleph B combination against the later texts. They give the correct reading as ἕτεροι κακοῦργοι δύο. Nestle, likewise, agrees with the Westcott-Hort reading, as does Von Soden.⁴

Translation, New York, 1887): "There went on constantly the war of Roman troops against the seceders in the mountains, the Zealots as the Jews named them, or, according to Roman designation, the Robbers." Also Simkhovitch, *Toward the Understanding of Jesus*, Chapter II.

⁴Scrivener, almost the only great modern scholar who adheres to the T. R., calls this W-H reading "wholly impossible." (*Introduction*, p. 547).

The conclusion is unavoidable. Luke's story means that Jesus and two other malefactors, were led out together to death; all of them malefactors, no doubt, in the sense that they had violently ignored the law.

The very terms describing the crucifixion indicate the close relation between them. These *κακοῦργοι* were not merely crucified at the same time and placed near Jesus; they were crucified *with* him, *συσταυρωθέντες* (Matthew). The whole process was in the closest, most intimate relation; one in condemnation, one in character of violation of the law, one in actual infliction of punishment, one in consciousness as they approached death, one in expectation of a glorious beyond.

Hence the conditions of the problem can be concluded under a statement something like this:

At the same time, or a few hours before or after the arrest of Jesus, at least two of his followers were arrested and turned over directly to the Roman authorities. To the offense of being participants in Jesus' attempt against the Jewish government, they had added some other offense which in the opinion of one of them justified their condemnation.⁵ Their identity with their leader was established, and they were taken to be crucified at the same time with him. Recognizing the disaster into which their confidence in the promises of Jesus and their following him to Jerusalem had led them, one of them broke

He, like Tischendorf, is influenced by the manifest implications of the order, and keeps his fixed idea in preference to conformity with the textual evidence. Such preference of course underlies his unwillingness to accept the evidence of B and \aleph as almost all other textual critics do.

Similarly to Scrivener, Easton, *The Gospel according to Luke*, ad loc. p. 347: "malefactors cannot be meant to include Christ."

⁵Eisler, *Jesus the Messiah*, p. 510, thinks that they were the leaders in an unauthorized attempt by the followers of Jesus to take the city of Jerusalem by seizing the Temple and the Tower of Siloam. While he does not make a satisfactory case for his claim, he recognizes the effect of the words "in the same condemnation."

out into bitter upbraiding of the man whom he believed to be responsible for his condition, challenging him to show that he was not an impostor by saving himself and them; while the other, retaining the faith which had brought him to Jerusalem in that great crowd who looked for the immediate coming of the Kingdom, begged to be remembered in that Kingdom, which he still believed was to come. Jesus, retaining up to the moment of death his own conviction of the certainty of the promises, reassured his followers that the failure was only apparent and that the promised blessings would be theirs that very day.

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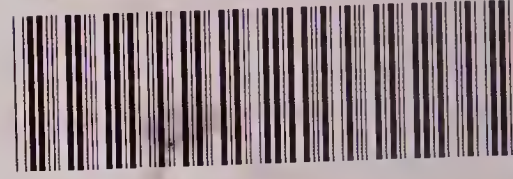
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